Col. *BENJAMIN CHURCH.*

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THE

ENTERTAINING

HISTORY

OF

King *Philip*'s WAR,

Which began in the Month of *June*, 1675.

AS ALSO OF

EXPEDITIONS

MORE LATELY MADE

Againſt the Common Enemy, and *Indian* Rebels, in the Eaſtern Parts of *New-England*:

With ſome ACCOUNT of the Divine Providence towards

Col. Benjamin Church:

By THOMAS CHURCH, Esq. his Son.

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TO THE READER.

THE ſubject of this following narrative offering itſelf to your friendly peruſal, relates to the former & later wars of New-England, *which I myſelf was not a little concerned in: For in the year* 1675, *that unhappy & bloody Indian war broke out in* Plymouth *colony, where I was then building, and beginning a plantation at a place called by the Indians* Sogkonate, *and ſince by the* Engliſh Little-Compton. *I was the firſt* Engliſhman *that built upon that neck, which was full of Indians. My head and hands were full about ſettling a new plantation where nothing was brought to; no preparation of dwelling-houſe, or out-houſes, or fencing made. Horſes and cattle were to be provided, ground to be clear'd and broken up; and the utmoſt caution to be uſed, to keep myſelf free from offending my Indian neighbours all round about me. While I was thus buſily employed, and all my time and ſtrength laid out in this laborious undertaking, I received a commiſſion from the government to engage in their defence: And with my commiſſion I received another heart, inclining me to put forth my ſtrength in military ſervice: And through the grace of GOD I was ſpirited for that work, and direction in it was renewed to me day by day. And although many of the actions that I was concerned in were very difficult and dangerous, yet myſelf, and thoſe who went with me voluntarily in the ſer-*

vice, had our lives, for the moſt part, wonderfully preſerved, by the over-ruling hand of the Almighty, from firſt to laſt; which doth aloud beſpeak our praiſes: And to declare his wonderful works is our indiſpenſable duty. I was ever very ſenſible of my own littleneſs, and unfitneſs to be employed in ſuch great ſervices, but calling to my mind that GOD *is* STRONG, *I endeavoured to put all my confidence in him, and by his almighty power was carried through every difficult action: And my deſire is that his name may have the praiſe.*

It was ever my intent, having laid myſelf under a ſolemn promiſe, that the many and repeated favours of GOD *to myſelf, and thoſe with me in the ſervice, might be publiſhed for generations to come. And now my great age requiring my diſmiſſion from ſervice in the militia, and to put off my armour, I am willing that the great and glorious works of Almighty* GOD, *to us children of men, ſhould appear to the world; and having my minutes by me, my ſon has taken the care and pains to collect from them the enſuing narrative of many paſſages relating to the former and latter wars; which I have had the peruſal of, and find nothing amiſs as to the truth of it; and with as little reflection upon any particular perſon as might be, either alive or dead.*

And ſeeing every particle of hiſtorical truth is precious; I hope the reader will paſs a favourable cenſure upon an old ſoldier, telling of the many rencounters he has had, and yet is come off alive. It is a pleaſure to remember what a great number of families, in this and the neighbouring provinces in New-England, *did, during the war, enjoy a great meaſure of liberty and peace by the hazardous ſtations and marches of thoſe engaged in military exerciſes, who were a wall unto them on this ſide and on that ſide.*

I deſire prayers, that I may be enabled well to accompliſh my ſpiritual warfare, and that I may be more than conqueror through JESUS CHRIST loving of me.

Benjamin Church.

The entertaining HISTORY of *Philip's* WAR,

Which began in the Year 1675.

With the Proceedings of

Benjamin Church, Eſq;

IN the year 1674 Mr. *Benjamin Church*, of *Duxbury*, being providentially at *Plymouth*, in the time of the court, fell into acquaintance with Capt. *John Almy*, of *Rhode-Iſland*. Capt. *Almy*, with great importunity, invited him to ride with him, and view that part of *Plymouth* colony, that lay next to *Rhode-Iſland*, known then by their Indian names of *Pocaſſet* and *Sogkonate*. Among other arguments to perſuade him, he told him the ſoil was very rich, and the ſituation pleaſant. Perſuades him by all means to purchaſe of the company ſome of the court grant rights. He accepted his invitation, views the country, and was pleaſed with it; makes a purchaſe, ſettled a farm, found the gentlemen of the iſland very civil and obliging. And being himſelf a perſon of uncommon activity and induſtry, he ſoon erected two buildings upon his farm, and gain'd a good acquaintance with the natives; got

got much into their favour, and was in a little time in great eſteem among them.

The next ſpring advancing, while Mr. *Church* was diligently ſettling his new farm, ſtocking, leaſing and diſpoſing of his affairs, and had a fine proſpect of doing no ſmall things; and hoping that his good ſucceſs would be inviting unto other good men to become his neighbours: Behold! the rumour of war between the *Engliſh* and the natives gave check to his projects. People began to be very jealous of the *Indians*, and indeed they had no ſmall reaſon to ſuſpect that they had formed a deſign of war upon the *Engliſh*. Mr. *Church* had it daily ſuggeſted to him that the *Indians* were plotting a bloody deſign. That *Philip*, the great *Mount-Hope* Sachem, was leader therein; and ſo it proved, he was ſending his meſſengers to all the neighbouring Sachems, to engage them into a confederacy with him in the war.

Among the reſt he ſent ſix men to *Awaſhonks*, Squaw-Sachem of the *Sogkonate* Indians, to engage her in his intereſt: *Awaſhonks* ſo far liſtened unto them, as to call her ſubjects together, to make a great dance, which is the cuſtom of that nation when they adviſe about momentous affairs. But what does *Awaſhonks* do, but ſends away two of her men that well underſtood the *Engliſh* language, (*Saſſamon* and *George* by name) to invite Mr. *Church* to the dance. Mr. *Church* upon the invitation, immediately takes with him *Charles Hazelton*, his tenant's ſon, who well underſtood the *Indian* language, and rid down to the place appointed; where they found hundreds of *Indians* gathered together from all parts of her dominion. *Awaſhonks* herſelf, in a foaming ſweat, was leading the dance; but ſhe was no ſooner ſenſible of Mr. *Church*'s arrival, but ſhe broke off, ſat down, calls her nobles round her, orders Mr. *Church* to be invited into her preſence; compliments being paſt, and each one taking ſeats, ſhe told him, King *Philip* had ſent ſix men of his, with two of her people, that

that had been over at *Mount-Hope*, to draw her into a confederacy with him, in a war with the *Engliſh*, deſiring him to give her his advice in the caſe, and to tell her the truth, whether the *Umpame* men (as *Philip* had told her) were gathering a great army to invade *Philip*'s country? He aſſured her he would tell her the truth, and give her his beſt advice; then he told her it was but a few days ſince he came from *Plymouth*, and the *Engliſh* were then making no preparations for war; that he was in company with the principal Gentlemen of the government, who had no diſcourſe at all about war; and he believed no thoughts about it. He aſked her, whether ſhe thought he would have brought up his goods to ſettle in that place, if he apprehended an entering into war with ſo near a neighbour? She ſeemed to be ſomewhat convinced by his talk, and ſaid ſhe believed he ſpoke the truth.

Then ſhe called for the *Mount-Hope* men, who made a formidable appearance, with their faces painted, and their hair trimmed up in comb-faſhion, with their powder-horns and ſhot-bags at their backs; which among that nation is the poſture and figure of preparedneſs for war. She told Mr. *Church* theſe were the perſons that had brought her the report of the *Engliſh* preparations for war, and then told them what Mr. *Church* had ſaid in anſwer to it.

Upon this began a warm talk among the Indians, but it was ſoon quaſhed, and *Awaſhonks* proceeded to tell Mr. *Church*, that *Philip*'s meſſage to her was, that unleſs ſhe would forthwith enter into a confederacy with him, in a war againſt the *Engliſh*, he would ſend his men over privately, to kill the *Engliſh* cattle, and burn their houſes on that ſide the river, which would provoke the *Engliſh* to fall upon her, whom they would without doubt ſuppoſe the author of the miſchief. Mr. *Church* told her he was ſorry to ſee ſo threatening an aſpect of affairs; and ſtepping to the *Mount-Hopes*, he felt of their bags, and finding them filled

filled with bullets, aſked them what thoſe bullets were for? They ſcoffingly reply'd, to ſhoot *pigeons* with.

Then Mr. *Church* turned to *Awaſhonks*, and told her if *Philip* was reſolved to make war, her beſt way would be to knock thoſe ſix *Mount-Hopes* on the head, and ſhelter herſelf under the protection of the *Engliſh*: Upon which the *Mount-Hopes* were for the preſent dumb. But thoſe two of *Awaſhonk*'s men, who had been at *Mount-Hope*, expreſſed themſelves in a furious manner againſt his advice. And *Little-Eyes*, one of the Queen's council, join'd with them, and urged Mr. *Church* to go aſide with him among the buſhes, that he might have ſome private diſcourſe with him, which other Indians immediately forbid, being ſenſible of his ill deſign: But the Indians began to ſide and grow very warm. Mr. *Church*, with undaunted courage, told the *Mount-Hopes* they were bloody wretches, and thirſted after the blood of their *Engliſh* neighbours, who had never injured them, but had always abounded in their kindneſs to them. That for his own part, though he deſired nothing more than peace, yet, if nothing but war would ſatisfy them, he believed he ſhould prove a ſharp thorn in their ſides: Bid the company obſerve thoſe men that were of ſuch bloody diſpoſitions, whether Providence would ſuffer them to live to ſee the event of the war, which others, more peaceably diſpoſed, might do.

Then he told *Awaſhonks* he thought it might be moſt adviſeable for her to ſend to the Governor of *Plymouth*, and ſhelter herſelf and people under his protection. She liked his advice, and deſired him to go on her behalf to the *Plymouth* government, which he conſented to: And at parting adviſed her, whatever ſhe did, not to deſert the *Engliſh* intereſt, to join with her neighbours in a rebellion which would certainly prove fatal to her. [He moved none of his goods from his houſe, that there might not be the leaſt umbrage from ſuch an action.] She thanked him for his advice, and ſent two of her men to guard him to his houſe; which

which when they came there, urged him to take care to ſecure his goods, which he refuſed for the reaſons before-mentioned: But deſired the Indians, that if what they feared ſhould happen, they would take care of what he left, and directed them to a place in the woods where they ſhould diſpoſe of them; which they faithfully obſerved.

He took his leave of his guard and bid them tell their miſtreſs, if ſhe continued ſteady in her dependance on the *Engliſh*, and kept within her own limits of *Sogkonate*, he would ſee her again quickly; and then haſtened away to *Pocaſſet*,* where he met with *Peter Nunnuit*, the huſband of the Queen of *Pocaſſet*, who was juſt then come over in a canoe from *Mount-Hope*. *Peter* told him that there would certainly be war; for *Philip* had held a dance of ſeveral weeks continuance, and had entertain'd the young men from all parts of the country: And added, that *Philip* expected to be ſent for to *Plymouth*, to be examined about *Saſſamon*'s death, who was murder'd at *Aſſawomſet*-Ponds;† knowing himſelf guilty of contriving that murder. The ſame *Peter* told him that he ſaw Mr. *James Brown*, of *Swanzey*, and Mr. *Samuel Gorton*, who was an interpreter, and two other men, who brought a letter from the Governor of *Plymouth* to *Philip*. He obſerved to him further, that the young men were very eager to begin the war, and would fain have killed Mr. *Brown*, but *Philip* prevented it; telling them that his father had charged him to ſhew kindneſs to Mr. *Brown*. In ſhort, *Philip* was forced to promiſe them that, on the next Lord's-Day, when the *Engliſh* were gone to meeting, they ſhould rifle their houſes and from that time forward kill their cattle.

Peter deſir'd Mr. *Church* to go and ſee his wife, who was but up the hill; he went and found but few of her people with her. She ſaid they were all gone, againſt her will, to the dances; and ſhe much feared there would be

* *Tiverton* ſhore over againſt the north end of *Rhode-Iſland*.
† *Middleborough*.

a war. Mr. *Church* adviſed her to go to the iſland and ſecure herſelf, and thoſe that were with her; and ſend to the Governor of *Plymouth*, who ſhe knew was her friend; and ſo left her, reſolving to haſten to *Plymouth*, and wait on the Governor: And he was ſo expeditious that he was with the Governor early next morning, though he waited on ſome of the magiſtrates by the way, who were of the council of war, and alſo met him at the Governor's. He gave them an account of his obſervations and diſcoveries, which confirmed their former intelligences, and haſtened their preparation for defence.

Philip, according to his promiſe to his people, permitted them to march out of the neck on the next Lord's-Day, when they plundered the neareſt houſes that the inhabitants had deſerted: But as yet offered no violence to the people, at leaſt none were killed. However the alarm was given by their numbers and hoſtile equipage, and by the prey they made of what they could find in the forſaken houſes.

An expreſs came the ſame day to the Governor, who immediately gave orders to the Captains of the towns to march the greateſt part of their companies, and to rendezvous at *Taunton*, on Monday night, where Major *Bradford* was to receive them, and diſpoſe them under Capt. (now made Major) *Cutworth*, of *Scituate*. The Governor deſired Mr. *Church* to give them his company, and to uſe his intereſt, in their behalf, with the gentlemen of *Rhode-Iſland*. He comply'd with it, and they march'd the next day.—Major *Bradford* deſired Mr. *Church*, with a commanded party, conſiſting of *Engliſh* and ſome friend Indians, to march in the front, at ſome diſtance from the main body. Their orders were to keep ſo far before as not to be in ſight of the army. And ſo they did, for by the way they killed a deer, fleed, roaſted, and eat the moſt of him, before the army came up with them; but the *Plymouth* forces ſoon arrived at *Swanzey*, & were chiefly poſted at Major *Brown*'s and Mr. *Mile*'s garriſons; and were there ſoon joined with

with thoſe that came from *Maſſachuſetts*, who had entered into a confederacy with their *Plymouth* brethren, againſt the perfidious heathens.

The enemy, who began their hoſtilities with plundering, and deſtroying cattle, did not long content themſelves with that game; they thirſted for *Engliſh* blood, and they ſoon broached it; killing two men in the way not far from Mr. *Mile*'s garriſon; and ſoon after, eight more at *Mattapoiſet*:* Upon whoſe bodies they exerciſed more than brutiſh barbarities; beheading, diſmembring and mangling them, and expoſing them in the moſt inhuman manner; which gaſhed and ghoſtly objects ſtruck a damp on all beholders.

The enemy, fluſhed with theſe exploits, grew yet bolder, and ſkulking every where in the buſhes, ſhot at all paſſengers, and killed many that ventured abroad. They came ſo near as to ſhoot down two centinels at Mr. *Mile's* garriſon, under the very noſes of moſt of our forces. Theſe provocations drew out the reſentment of ſome of Captain *Prentice*'s troops, who deſired they might have liberty to go out and ſeek the enemy in their own quarters. Quarter Maſters *Gill* and *Belcher* commanded the parties drawn out, who earneſtly deſired Mr. *Church*'s company: They provided him a horſe and furniture (his own being out of the way;) he readily complied with their deſires, and was ſoon mounted.

This party was no ſooner over *Mile's* bridge, but were fired upon by an ambuſcade of about a dozen Indians, as they were afterwards diſcovered to be. When they drew off, the pilot was mortally wounded, Mr. *Belcher* received a ſhot in his knee, and his horſe was killed under him, Mr. *Gill* was ſtruck with a muſket-ball on the ſide of his belly; but being clad with a buff coat, and ſome thickneſs of paper under it, it never broke his ſkin. The troopers were ſurpriſed to ſee both their commanders wounded, and wheeled off; but Mr. *Church* perſuaded,

* In *Swanzey*.

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at length ſtormed and ſtampt, and told them it was a ſhame to run, and leave a wounded man there to become a prey to the barbarous enemy : For the pilot yet ſat on his horſe, though ſo mazed with the ſhot, as not to have ſenſe to guide him ; Mr. *Gill* ſeconded him, and offered, though much diſabled, to aſſiſt in bringing him off. Mr. *Church* aſked a ſtranger, who gave him his company in that action, if he would go with him and fetch off the wounded man : He readily conſented, & they, with Mr. *Gill*, went, but the wounded man fainted and fell off his horſe before they came to him ; but Mr. *Church* and the ſtranger diſmounted, took up the man dead, and laid him before Mr. *Gill* on his horſe. Mr. *Church* told the other two, if they would take care of the dead man, he would go and fetch his horſe back, which was going off the cauſey toward the enemy ; but before he got over the cauſey he ſaw the enemy run to the right into the neck. He brought back the horſe, and called earneſtly and repeatedly to the army to come over and fight the enemy ; and while he ſtood calling and perſuading, the ſkulking enemy returned to their old ſtand, and all diſcharged their guns at him at one clap, though every ſhot miſſed him ; yet one of the army, on the other ſide of the river, received one of the balls in his foot. Mr. *Church* now began (no ſuccour coming to him) to think in time to retreat : Saying, *The Lord have mercy on us*, if ſuch a handful of Indians ſhall thus dare ſuch an army !

Upon this it was immediately reſolved, and orders were given to march down into the neck, and having paſſed the bridge and cauſey, the direction was to extend both wings, which being not well heeded, by thoſe that remained in the centre, ſome of them miſtook their friends for their enemies, and made a fire upon them in the right wing, and wounded that noble heroick youth, Enſign *Savage*, in the thigh, but it happily proved but a fleſh wound. They marched until they came to the narrow of the neck,

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at a place called *Keekamuit*, * where they took down the heads of eight *Engliſhmen* that were killed at the head of *Mattapoiſet* neck, and ſet upon poles, after the barbarous manner of thoſe ſavages. There *Philip* had ſtaved all his drums, and conveyed all his canoes to the Eaſt-ſide of *Mattapoiſet*-river; hence it was concluded, by thoſe that were acquainted with the motions of thoſe people, that they had quitted the neck. Mr. *Church* told them that *Philip* was doubtleſs gone over to *Pocaſſet* ſide, to ingage thoſe Indians in rebellion with him; which they ſoon found to be true. The enemy were not really beaten out of *Mount-Hope* neck, though it was true they fled from thence; yet it was before any purſued them. It was but to ſtrengthen themſelves, and to gain a more advantageous poſt. However, ſome, and not a few, pleaſed themſelves with the fancy of a mighty conqueſt.

A grand council was held, and a reſolve paſt, to build a fort there, to maintain the firſt ground they had gained, by the Indians leaving it to them; and to ſpeak the truth, it muſt be ſaid, that as they gained not that field by their ſword, nor their bow; ſo it was rather their fear than their courage, that obliged them to ſet up the marks of their conqueſt. Mr. *Church* looked upon it, and talked of it with contempt, and urged hard the purſuing the enemy on *Pocaſſet* ſide, and with the greater earneſtneſs, becauſe of his promiſe made to *Awaſhonks*, before mentioned. The council adjourned themſelves from *Mount-Hope* to *Rohoboth*, where Mr. Treaſurer *Southworth*, being weary of his charge of Commiſſary General, (proviſion being ſcarce and difficult to be obtained, for the army, that now lay ſtill to cover the people from no body, while they were building a fort for nothing) retired, and the power and trouble of that poſt was left with Mr. *Church*, who ſtill urged the commanding officers to move over to *Pocaſſet* ſide, to purſue the enemy, and kill *Philip*, which would, in his opinion, be more probable to keep poſſeſſion

* Upper part of *Briſtol*.

poſſeſſion of the neck, than to tarry to build a fort. He was ſtill reſtleſs on that ſide of the river, and the rather becauſe of his promiſe to the *Squaw Sachem* of *Sogkonate*, and Captain *Fuller* alſo urged the ſame, until at length there came further orders concerning the fort; and withal an order for Captain *Fuller* with ſix files to croſs the river to the ſide ſo much inſiſted on, and to try if he could get ſpeech with any of the *Pocaſſet* or *Sogkonate* Indians, and that Mr. *Church* ſhould go his ſecond. Upon the Captain's receiving his orders, he aſked Mr. *Church* whether he was willing to engage in this enterpriſe: To whom it was indeed too agreeable to be declined; tho' he thought the enterpriſe was hazardous enough for them to have more men aſſigned them. Captain *Fuller* told him, that for his own part he was grown ancient and heavy, he feared the travel and fatigue would be too much for him; but Mr. *Church* urged him, and told him, he would cheerfully excuſe him his hardſhip and travel, and take that part to himſelf, if he might but go; for he had rather do any thing in the world than to ſtay there to build the fort.

Then they drew out the number aſſigned them, and marched the ſame night to the ferry, and were tranſported to *Rhode-Iſland*, from whence, the next night, they got paſſage over to *Pocaſſet* ſide, in *Rhode-Iſland* boats, and concluded there to diſpoſe themſelves in two ambuſcades before day, hoping to ſurpriſe ſome of the enemy by their falling into one or other of their ambuſhments. But Capt. *Fuller*'s party, being troubled with the epidemical plague of luſt after tobacco, muſt needs ſtrike fire to ſmoke it; and thereby diſcovered themſelves to a party of the enemy coming up to them, who immediately fled with great precipitatiton.

This ambuſcade drew off about break of day, perceiving they were diſcovered, the other continued in their poſt until the time aſſigned them, and the light and heat of the ſun rendered their ſtation both inſignificant and troubleſome,

troubleſome, and then returned unto the place of rendezvous, where they were acquainted with the other party's diſappointment, and the occaſion of it. Mr. *Church* calls for the breakfaſt he had ordered to be brought over in the boat; but the man that had the charge of it confeſſed that he was aſleep when the boats-men called him, and in haſte came away, and never thought of it. It happened that Mr. *Church* had a few cakes of ruſk in his pocket, that Madam *Cranſton* (the Governor of *Rhode-Iſland*'s Lady) gave him when he came off the iſland, which he divided among the company, which was all the proviſions they had.

Mr. *Church*, after their ſlender breakfaſt, propoſed to Capt. *Fuller*, that he would march in queſt of the enemy, with ſuch of the company as would be willing to march with him, which he comply'd with, though with a great deal of ſcruple, becauſe of his ſmall number, and the extreme hazard he foreſaw muſt attend them.

But ſome of the company reflected upon Mr. *Church*, that notwithſtanding his talk on the other ſide of the river, he had not ſhewn them any Indians ſince they came over. Which now mov'd him to tell them, that if it was their deſire to ſee Indians, he believed he ſhould now ſoon ſhew them what they ſhould ſay was enough.

The number allowed him ſoon drew off to him, which could not be many, becauſe their whole company conſiſted of no more than thirty-ſix. They mov'd towards *Sogkonate*, until they came to the brook that runs into *Nunnaquahqat* neck, where they diſcover'd a freſh and plain track, which they concluded to be from the great pine ſwamp, about a mile from the road that leads to *Sogkonate*. Now, ſays Mr. *Church*, to his men, if we follow this track, no doubt but we ſhall ſoon ſee Indians enough; they expreſs'd their willingneſs to follow the track, and mov'd in it, but had not gone far before one of them narrowly eſcaped being bit with a rattle-ſnake: And the woods that the track led

them

them through was haunted much with thoſe ſnakes, which the little company ſeemed more to be afraid of than the black ſerpents they were in queſt of, and therefore bent their courſe another way, to a place where they thought it probable to find ſome of the enemy. Had they kept the track to the pine ſwamp, they had been certain of meeting Indians enough; but not ſo certain that any of them ſhould have returned to give account how many.

Now they paſs'd down into *Punkatees* neck; and in their march diſcovered a large wigwam full of Indian truck, which the ſoldiers were for loading themſelves with, until Mr. *Church* forbid it, telling them they might expect ſoon to have their hands full, and buſineſs without caring for plunder. Then croſſing the head of the creek into the neck, they again diſcover'd freſh Indian tracks very lately paſs'd before them into the neck. They then got privately and undiſcover'd unto the fence of Capt. *Almy*'s peaſe-field, and divided into two parties, Mr. *Church* keeping the one party with himſelf, ſent the other with *Lake*, who was acquainted with the ground, on the other ſide. Two Indians were ſoon diſcover'd coming out of the peaſe-field towards them; when Mr. *Church*, and thoſe that were with him, concealed themſelves from them, by falling flat on the ground; but the other diviſion not uſing the ſame caution, were ſeen by the enemy, which occaſioned them to run; which when Mr. *Church* perceived, he ſhewed himſelf to them, and called, telling them he deſired but to ſpeak with them, and would not hurt them: But they ran, and *Church* purſued. The Indians climb'd over a fence, and one of them facing about diſcharged his piece, but without effect, on the *Engliſh*: One of the *Engliſh* ſoldiers ran up to the fence and fir'd upon him that had diſcharged his piece; and they concluded, by the yelling they heard, that the Indian was wounded; but the Indians ſoon got into the thickets, whence they ſaw them no more for the preſent.

Mr. *Church* then marching over a plain piece of ground, where

where the woods were very thick on one ſide; ordered his little company to march at a double diſtance, to make as big a ſhow (if they ſhould be diſcovered) as might be; but before they ſaw any body, they were ſaluted with a volley of fifty or ſixty guns; ſome bullets came very ſurpriſingly near Mr. *Church*, who ſtarting, looked behind him, to ſee what was become of his men, expecting to have ſeen half of them dead, but ſeeing them all upon their legs, and briſkly firing at the ſmokes of the enemies guns (for that was all that was then to be ſeen) *He bleſſed God, and called to his men not to diſcharge all their guns at once, leſt the enemy ſhould take the advantage of ſuch an opportunity to run upon them with their hatchets.*

Their next motion was immediately into the Peaſe-field.* When they came to the fence, Mr. *Church* bid as many as had not diſcharged their guns, to clap under the fence, and lie cloſe, while the other, at ſome diſtance in the field, ſtood to charge; hoping that if the enemy ſhould creep to the fence, to gain a ſhot at thoſe that were charging their guns, they might be ſurpriſed by thoſe that lay under the fence; but caſting his eyes to the ſide of the hill above them, the hill ſeemed to move, being covered over with Indians, with their bright guns glittering in the ſun, and running in a circumference with a deſign to ſurround them.

Seeing ſuch multitudes ſurrounding him and his little company, it put him upon thinking what was become of the boats that were ordered to attend him; and looking up he ſpied them aſhore at *Sandy-point*, on the iſland ſide of the river, with a number of horſe and foot by them, and wondered what ſhould be the occaſion, until he was afterwards informed, that the boats had been over that morning from the iſland, and had landed a party of men at *Fogland*, that were deſigned in *Punkatee's* neck, to fetch off ſome cattle and horſes, but were ambuſcaded, and many of them wounded by the enemy.

* *Tiverton*, about half a mile above *Fogland* ferry.

Now our gentleman's courage and conduct were both put to the teſt, he encourages his men, and orders ſome to run and take a wall for ſhelter before the enemy gained it. It was time for them now to think of eſcaping if they knew which way. Mr. *Church* orders his men to ſtrip to their white ſhirts, that the iſlanders might diſcover them to be Engliſhmen; and then orders three guns to be fired diſtinct, hoping it might be obſerved by their friends on the oppoſite ſhore. The men that were ordered to take the wall, being very hungry, ſtopped a while among the peaſe to gather a few, being about four rods from the wall; the enemy from behind hail'd them with a ſhower of bullets; but ſoon all but one came tumbling over an old hedge down the bank, where Mr. *Church* and the reſt were, and told him that his brother *B. Southworth*, who was the man that was miſſing, was killed, that they ſaw him fall; and ſo they did indeed ſee him fall, but it was without a ſhot, and lay no longer than till he had an opportunity to clap a bullet into one of the enemy's forehead, and then came running to his company. The meaneſs of the *Engliſh* powder was now their greateſt misfortune; when they were immediately upon this beſet with multitudes of Indians, who poſſeſſed themſelves of every rock, ſtump, tree or fence that was in ſight, firing upon them without ceaſing; while they had no other ſhelter but a ſmall bank and bit of a water-fence. And yet, to add to the diſadvantage of this little handful of diſtreſſed men, the Indians alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of the ruins of a ſtone houſe that overlooked them; ſo that now they had no way to prevent lying quite open to ſome or other of the enemy, but to heap up ſtones before them, as they did, and ſtill bravely and wonderfully defended themſelves againſt all the numbers of the enemy. At length came over one of the boats from the iſland ſhore, but the enemy plied their ſhot ſo warmly to her as made her keep at ſome diſtance; Mr. *Church* deſired them to ſend their canoe

canoe aſhore to fetch them on board; but no perſuaſions nor arguments could prevail with them to bring their canoe to ſhore; which ſome of Mr. *Church*'s men perceiving, began to cry out, *For God's ſake to take them off, for their ammunition was ſpent*, &c. Mr. *Church* being ſenſible of the danger of the enemy's hearing their complaints, and being made acquainted with the weakneſs and ſcantineſs of their ammunition, fiercely called to the boat's maſter, and bid him either ſend his canoe aſhore, or elſe be gone preſently, or he would fire upon him.

Away goes the boat, and leaves them ſtill to ſhift for themſelves; but then another difficulty aroſe, the enemy ſeeing the boat leave them, were re-animated, and fired thicker and faſter than ever; upon which ſome of the men that were lighteſt of foot, began to talk of attempting an eſcape by flight, until Mr. *Church* ſolidly convinced them of the impracticableneſs of it; and encouraged them yet, told them, *That he had obſerved ſo much of the remarkable and wonderful providence of God hitherto preſerving them, that it encouraged him to believe, with much confidence, that God would yet preſerve them; that not a hair of their head ſhould fall to the ground; bid them be patient, courageous and prudently ſparing of their ammunition, and he made no doubt but they ſhould come well off yet*, &c. until his little army again reſolved, one and all, to ſtay with, and ſtick by him. One of them, by Mr. *Church*'s order, was pitching a flat ſtone up an end before him in the ſand, when a bullet from the enemy, with a full force, ſtruck the ſtone, while he was pitching it an end; which put the poor fellow to a miſerable ſtart, till Mr. *Church* called upon him to obſerve, *how God directed the bullets, that the enemy could not hit him when in the ſame place, yet could hit the ſtone as it was erected.*

While they were thus making the beſt defence they could againſt their numerous enemies, that made the woods ring with their conſtant yelling and ſhouting: And night

coming on, ſomebody told Mr. *Church*, they ſpied a ſloop up the river as far as *Gold-Iſland*, that ſeemed to be coming down towards them: He looked up and told them, *ſuccour was now coming, for he believed it was Captain* Golding, *whom he knew to be a man for buſineſs, and would certainly fetch them off, if he came.* The wind being fair, the veſſel was ſoon with them; and Captain *Golding* it was. Mr. *Church* (as ſoon as they came to ſpeak with one another) deſired him *to come to anchor at ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore, that he might veer out his cable and ride afloat, and let ſlip his canoe, that it might drive aſhore*; which direction Captain *Golding* obſerved; but the enemy gave him ſuch a warm ſalute, that his ſails, colour, and ſtern, were full of bullet holes.

The canoe came aſhore, but was ſo ſmall that ſhe would not bear above two men at a time; and when two were got aboard, they turned her looſe to drive aſhore for two more, and the ſloop's company kept the Indians in play the while; but when at laſt it came to Mr. *Church*'s turn to go aboard, he had left his hat and cutlaſs at the well where he went to drink, when he firſt came down; he told his company, *he would never go off and leave his hat and cutlaſs for the Indians; they ſhould never have that to reflect upon him:* Though he was much diſuaded from it, yet he would go and fetch them. He put all the powder he had left into his gun (and a poor charge it was) and went preſenting his gun at the enemy, until he took up what he went for; at his return he diſcharged his gun at the enemy, to bid them farewell for that time; but had not powder enough to carry the bullet half way to them.

Two bullets from the enemy ſtruck the canoe as he went on board, one grazed the hair of his head a little before; another ſtuck in a ſmall ſtake that ſtood right againſt the middle of his breaſt.

Now this Gentlemen with his army, making in all 20 men, himſelf and his pilot being numbered with them, got

all

all ſafe on board after ſix hours engagement with 300 Indians; whoſe number we were told afterwards by ſome of themſelves. *A deliverance which that good Gentleman often mentions to the Glory of God, and his protecting providence.* The next day meeting with the reſt of his little company, whom he had left at *Pocaſſet* (that had alſo a ſmall ſkirmiſh with the Indians, and had two men wounded) they returned to the *Mount-Hope* garriſon; which Mr. *Church* uſed to call the looſing fort. Mr. *Church* then returning to the iſland, to ſeek proviſion for the army, meets with *Alderman*, a noted Indian, that was juſt come over from the *Squaw Sachem*'s cape of *Pocaſſet*, having deſerted from her, and brought over his family; who gave him an account of the ſtate of the Indians, and where each of the *Sagamore*'s head quarters were. Mr. *Church* then diſcourſed with ſome who knew the ſpot well where the Indians ſaid *Weetamore*'s * head-quarters were, and offered their ſervice to pilot him. With this news he haſtened to the *Mount-Hope* garriſon. The army expreſſed their readineſs to embrace ſuch an opportunity.

All the ableſt ſoldiers were now immediately drawn off, equipped and deſpatched upon this deſign, under the command of a certain officer; and having marched about two miles, *viz.* until they came to the cove that lies ſouth weſt from the Mount, where orders were given for an halt: The commander in chief told them he thought it proper to take advice before he went any further; called Mr. *Church* and the pilot, and aſked them, *how they knew that* Philip *and all his men were not by that time got to* Weetamore's *camp; or that all her own men were not by that time returned to her again?* With many more frightful queſtions. Mr. *Church* told him, *they had acquainted him with as much as they knew, and that for his part he could diſcover nothing that need to diſcourage them from proceeding; that he thought it ſo practicable, that he, with the pilot, would willingly lead the way to the ſpot, and hazard the brunt.* But the chief com-

* Squaw Sachem of *Pocaſſet*.

commander inſiſted on this, *That the enemies number were ſo great, and he did not know what numbers more might be added unto them by that time: And his company ſo ſmall, that he could not think it practicable to attack them:* Added moreover, *That if he was ſure of killing all the enemy, and knew that he muſt loſe the life of one of his men in the action, he would not attempt it.* Pray Sir, then (replied Mr. *Church*) *Pleaſe to lead your company to yonder windmill, on* Rhode-Iſland, *and there they will be out of danger of being killed by the enemy, and we ſhall have leſs trouble to ſupply them with proviſions.* But return he would, and did, unto the garriſon, until more ſtrength came to them, and a ſloop to tranſport them to the *Fall river*,* in order to viſit *Weetamoore*'s camp. Mr. *Church*, one *Baxter*, and Captain *Hunter* an Indian, proffered to go out on the diſcovery on the left wing, which was accepted; they had not marched above a quarter of a mile before they ſtarted three of the enemy. Captain *Hunter* wounded one of them in his knee, whom, when he came up, he diſcovered to be his near kinſman; the captive deſired favour for his ſquaw, if ſhe ſhould fall into their hands, but aſked none for himſelf, excepting the liberty of taking a whiff of tobacco, and while he was taking his whiff, his kinſman with one blow of his hatchet deſpatched him. Proceeding to *Weetamore*'s camp, they were diſcovered by one of the enemy, who ran in and gave information, upon which a luſty young fellow left his meat upon his ſpit,† running haſtily out, told his companions, *he would kill an Engliſhman before he eat his dinner*; but failed of his deſign, being no ſooner out but ſhot down. The enemies fires, and what ſhelter they had was by the edge of a thick cedar ſwamp, into which, on this alarm, they betook themſelves, and the *Engliſh* as nimbly purſued; but were ſoon commanded back by their chieftan, after they were come within hearing of the cries of their women and children, and ſo ended that exploit; but returning to their ſloop the enemy purſued them, and

* South part of *Freetown*. † Probably a wooden ſpit.

wounded

wounded two of their men. The next day they returned to the *Mount-Hope* garriſon.

Soon after this, was *Philip*'s head quarters viſited by ſome other *Engliſh* forces; but *Philip* and his gang had the very fortune to eſcape that *Weetamore* and her's (but now mentioned) had; they took into a ſwamp, and their purſuers were commanded back. After this *Dartmouth*'s diſtreſſes required ſuccour, great part of the town being laid deſolate, and many of the inhabitants kill'd; the moſt of *Plymouth* forces were ordered thither; and coming to *Ruſſel*'s garriſon at *Ponaganſet*,* they met with a number of the enemy that had ſurrendered themſelves priſoners on terms promiſed by Capt. *Eels* of the garriſon, and *Ralph Earl*, who perſuaded them (by a friend Indian he had employed) to come in. And had their promiſes to the Indians been kept, and the Indians fairly treated, it is probable that moſt if not all the Indians in thoſe parts had ſoon followed the example of thoſe who had now ſurrendered themſelves; which would have been a good ſtep towards finiſhing the war. But in ſpite of all that Capt. *Eels*, *Church* or *Earl* could ſay, argue, plead, or beg, ſome body elſe that had more power in their hands improved it; and without any regard to the promiſes made them on their ſurrendering themſelves, they were carried away to *Plymouth*, there ſold, and tranſported out of the country, being about eight-ſcore perſons. An action ſo hateful to Mr. *Church*, that he oppos'd it to the loſs of the good will and reſpects of ſome that before were his good friends. But while theſe things were acting at *Dartmouth*, *Philip* made his eſcape, leaving his country, fled over *Taunton* river, and *Rehoboth* plain, and *Petuxet* river, where Capt. *Edmunds*, of *Providence*, made ſome ſpoil upon him, and had probably done more, but was prevented by the coming of a ſuperior officer, that put him by. And now another fort was built at *Pocaſſet*, that prov'd as troubleſome and chargeable as that at *Mount-Hope*; and the remainder of the ſummer was im-

* In *Dartmouth*.

proved.

proved in providing for the forts and forces there maintained, while our enemies were fled ſome hundred of miles into the country, near as far as *Albany*. And now ſtrong ſuſpicions began to ariſe of the *Narraganſet* Indians, that they were ill affected, and deſigned miſchief; and ſo the event ſoon diſcovered. The next winter they began their hoſtilities upon the *Engliſh*. The united colonies then agreed to ſend an army to ſuppreſs them: Governor *Winſlow* to command the army. He undertaking the expedition, invited Mr. *Church* to command a company in the expedition, which he declin'd, craving excuſe from taking commiſſion, he promiſed to wait upon him as a *Reformado* through the expedition. Having rid with the General to *Boſton*, and from thence to *Rehoboth*; upon the General's requeſt he went thence the neareſt way over the ferries, with Major *Smith*, to his garriſon in the *Narraganſet country*, to prepare and to provide for the coming of General *Winſlow*; who marched round through the country with his army, propoſing by night to ſurpriſe *Pumham** (a certain *Narraganſet* Sachem) and his town; but being aware of the approach of our army, made their eſcape into the deſarts; but Mr. *Church* meeting with fair winds arrived ſafe at the Major's garriſon in the evening, and ſoon began to inquire after the enemies reſorts, wigwams, or ſleeping places, and having gained ſome intelligence, he propoſed to the *Eldriges*, and ſome other briſk hands that he met with, to attempt the ſurpriſing of ſome of the enemy, to make a preſent of to the General, when he ſhould arrive, which might advantage his deſign. Being briſk blades, they readily complied with the motion, and were ſoon upon their march. The night was very cold, but bleſſed with the moon; before the day broke they effected their exploit, and by the riſing of the ſun arrived at the Major's garriſon, where they met the General, and preſented him with eighteen of the enemy they had captived. The General, pleaſed with the exploit, gave them thanks, particularly to Mr.

* Sachem of *Shawomet*, or *Warwick*.

Mr. *Church*, the mover and chief actor of the buſineſs; and ſending two of them, (likely boys) a preſent to *Boſton*; ſmiling on Mr. *Church*, told him, *That he made no doubt but his faculty would ſupply them with* Indian boys *enough before the war was ended.*

Their next move was to a ſwamp, which the Indians had fortified with a fort. Mr. *Church* rid in the General's guard when the bloody engagement began; but being impatient of being out of the heat of the action, importunately begged leave of the General that he might run down to the aſſiſtance of his friends; the General yielded to his requeſt, provided he could rally ſome hands to go with him. Thirty men immediately drew out and followed him: They entered the ſwamp, and paſſed over the log, that was the paſſage into the fort, where they ſaw many men and ſeveral valiant Captains lie ſlain: Mr. *Church* ſpying Captain *Gardner* of *Salem*, amidſt the wigwams in the eaſt end of the fort, made towards him, but on a ſudden, while they were looking each other in the face, Captain *Gardner* ſettled down, Mr. *Church* ſtepped to him, and ſeeing the blood run down his cheek, lifted up his cap, and calling him by his name; he looked up in his face, but ſpoke not a word, being mortally ſhot through the head; and obſerving his wound, Mr. *Church* found the ball entered his head on the ſide that was next the upland, where the *Engliſh* entered the ſwamp, upon which, having ordered ſome care to be taken of the Captain, he deſpatched information to the General that the beſt and forwardeſt of his army, that hazarded their lives to enter the fort, upon the muzzle of the enemies guns, were ſhot in their backs, and killed by them that lay behind. Mr. *Church* with his ſmall company haſtened out of the fort that the *Engliſh* were now poſſeſſed of, to get a ſhot at the Indians that were in the ſwamp, and kept firing upon them. He ſoon met with a broad and bloody track, where the enemy had fled with their wounded men; following hard

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in the tract, he ſoon ſpied one of the enemy who clapped his gun a-croſs his breaſt, made towards Mr. *Church*, and beckoned to him with his hand; Mr. *Church* immediately commanded no man to hurt him, hoping by him to have gained ſome intelligence of the enemy, that might be of advantage; but it unhappily fell out that a fellow that had lagged behind coming up, ſhot down the Indian, to Mr. *Church*'s great grief and diſappointment; but immediately they heard a great ſhout of the enemy, which ſeemed to be behind them, or between them and the fort; and diſcovered them running from tree to tree to gain advantages of firing upon the *Engliſh* that were in the fort. Mr. *Church*'s great difficulty now was how to diſcover himſelf to his friends in the fort, uſing ſeveral inventions, till at length he gained an opportunity to call to, and informed a Serjeant in the fort, that he was there, and might be expoſed to their ſhots, unleſs they obſerved it. By this time he diſcovered a number of the enemy almoſt within ſhot of him, making towards the fort. Mr. *Church* and his company were favoured by a heap of bruſh that was between them and the enemy, and prevented their being diſcovered to them. Mr. *Church* had given his men their particular orders for firing upon the enemy, and as they were riſing up to make their ſhot; the afore-mentioned Serjeant in the fort called out to them, *for God's ſake not to fire, for he believed they were ſome of their friend Indians*; they clapped down again, but were ſoon ſenſible of the Serjeant's miſtake. The enemy got to the top of the tree, the body whereof the Serjeant ſtood upon, and there clapped down out of ſight of the fort, but all this while never diſcovered Mr. *Church*, who obſerved them to keep gathering unto that place, until there ſeemed to be a formidable black heap of them. *Now brave boys* (ſaid Mr. *Church* to his men) *if we mind our hits, we may have a brave ſhot, and let our ſign for firing on them, be their riſing to fire into the fort.* It was not long before the Indians riſing

riſing up as one body, deſigning to pour a volley into the fort; when our *Church* nimbly ſtarted up and gave them ſuch a round volley, and unexpected clap on their backs, that they, who eſcaped with their lives, were ſo ſurpriſed, that they ſcampered, they knew not whither themſelves, about a dozen of them ran right over the log into the fort, and took into a ſort of hovel that was built with poles, after the manner of a corn crib. Mr. *Church*'s men having their cartridges fixed, were ſoon ready to obey his order, which was immediately to charge, and run on upon the hovel, and overſet it, calling, as he ran on, to ſome that were in the fort, to aſſiſt him in overſetting it; they no ſooner came to face the enemies ſhelter, but Mr. *Church* diſcovered that one of them had found a hole to point his gun through, right at him; but however encouraged his company, and ran right on, till he was ſtruck with three bullets, one in his thigh, which was near half cut off as it glanced on the joint of his hip-bone; another through the gathering of his breeches and drawers, with a ſmall fleſh wound; a third pierced his pocket, and wounded a pair of mittens, that he had borrowed of Captain *Prentice*; being wrapped up together had the misfortune of having many holes cut through them with one bullet; but however, he made a ſhift to keep on his legs, and nimbly diſcharged his gun at them that had wounded him; being diſabled now to go a ſtep, his men would have carried him off, but he forbid their touching of him, until they had perfected their project of overſetting the enemies ſhelter; bid them run, *for now the Indians had no guns charged.* While he was urging them to run on, the Indians began to ſhoot arrows, and with one pierced through the arm of an *Engliſhman* that had hold of Mr. *Church*'s arm to ſupport him. The *Engliſh*, in ſhort, were diſcouraged, and drew back; and by this time the *Engliſh* people in the fort had began to ſet fire to the wigwams and houſes in the fort, which Mr. *Church* laboured hard to prevent; they

they told him, *They had orders from the General to burn them*; he begged them to forbear until he had diſcourſed the General; and haſtening to him, *he begged to ſpare the wigwams*, &c. *in the fort from fire*, told him, *the wigwams were muſket-proof, being all lined with baſkets and tubs of grain, and other proviſions, ſufficient to ſupply the whole army, until the ſpring of the year; and every wounded man might have a good warm houſe to lodge in, who otherways would neceſſarily periſh with the ſtorms and cold: And moreover, that the army had no other proviſion to truſt unto, or depend upon; that he knew that the* Plymouth *forces had not ſo much as one biſkake left, for he had ſeen their laſt dealt out*, &c. The General adviſing a few words with the Gentlemen that were about him, moved towards the fort, deſigning to ride in himſelf, and bring in the whole army; but juſt as he was entering the ſwamp, one of his Captains met him, and aſked him, *whither he was going?* He told him into the fort; the Captain laid hold of his horſe, and told him, *his life was worth an hundred of theirs, and he ſhould not expoſe himſelf.* The General told him, *that he ſuppoſed the brunt was over, and that* Mr. *Church had informed him that the fort was taken*, &c. *and as the caſe was circumſtanced he was of the mind, that it was moſt practicable for him, and his army to ſhelter themſelves in the fort.* The Captain in a great heat replied, *that* Church *lied*; and told the General, *That if he moved another ſtep towards the fort he would ſhoot his horſe under him.* Then bruſled up another Gentleman, a certain doctor, and oppoſed Mr. *Church*'s advice, and ſaid, *If it were complied with, it would kill more men than the enemy had killed; for* (ſaid he) *by to-morrow the wounded men will be ſo ſtiff that there will be no moving of them:* And looking upon Mr. *Church*, and ſeeing the blood flow a-pace from his wounds, told him, *That if he gave ſuch advice as that was, he ſhould bleed to death like a dog before he would endeavour to ſtench his blood*; though after they had prevailed againſt his advice, they

they were ſufficiently kind to him. And burning up all the houſes and proviſions in the fort; the army returned the ſame night in the ſtorm and cold: And I ſuppoſe that every one who was acquainted with that night's march, deeply laments the miſeries that attended them, eſpecially the wounded and dying men. But it mercifully came to paſs that Captain *Andrew Belcher* arrived at Mr. *Smith*'s that very night from *Boſton*, with a veſſel loaden with proviſions for the army, who muſt otherwiſe have periſhed for want. Some of the enemy that were then in the fort have ſince informed us, that near a third of the Indians belonging to all the *Narraganſet* country were killed by the *Engliſh* and by the cold of that night, that they fled out of their fort ſo haſtily that they carried nothing with them: That if the *Engliſh* had kept in the fort, the Indians would certainly have been neceſſitated, either to ſurrender themſelves to them, or to have periſhed by hunger, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon.* Some time after this fort-fight a certain *Sogkonate* Indian hearing Mr. *Church* relate the manner of his being wounded, told him, *That he did not know but he himſelf was the Indian that wounded him, for that he was one of that company of Indians that Mr.* Church *made a ſhot upon, when they were riſing to make a ſhot into the fort. They were in number about* 60 *or* 70, *that juſt then came down from* Pumham's *town, and never before then fired a gun againſt the* Engliſh; *that when Mr.* Church *fired upon them he killed fourteen dead upon the ſpot, and wounded a greater number than he killed, many of which died afterwards of their wounds, in the cold and ſtorm the following night.* Mr.

* The ſwamp fight happened on December 29, 1675, in which about 50 Engliſh were killed in the action, and died of their wounds; and about 300 or 350 Indians, men, women and children, were killed, and as many more captivated. It is ſaid 500 wigwams were burnt with the fort; and 200 more in other parts of *Narraganſet*. The place of the fort was an elevated ground or piece of upland, of perhaps 3 or 4 acres, in the middle of a hedious ſwamp; about ſeven miles near due weſt from *Narraganſet* ſouth terry.

Mr. *Church* was mov'd, with other wounded men, over to *Rhode-Iſland*, where, in about three months time, he was in ſome good meaſure recovered of his wounds, and the fever that attended them: And then went over to the General to take his leave of him, with a deſign to return home.

But the General's great importunity again perſuaded him to accompany him in a long march into the *Nipmuck** country, though he had then tents in his wounds, and ſo lame as not able to mount his horſe without two men's aſſiſtance.

In this march, the firſt thing remarkable was, they came to an Indian town, where there were many *wigwams* in ſight, but an icy ſwamp, lying between them and the *wigwams*, prevented their running at once upon it as they intended: There was much firing upon each ſide before they paſs'd the ſwamp. But at length the enemy all fled; and a certain *Mohegan*, that was a friend Indian, purſued and ſeized one of the enemy that had a ſmall wound in his leg, and brought him before the General, where he was examined. Some were for torturing him to bring him to a more ample confeſſion of what he knew concerning his countrymen. Mr. *Church*, verily believing he had been ingenuous in his confeſſion, interceded and prevailed for his eſcaping torture. But the army being bound forward in their march, and the Indian's wound ſomewhat diſenabling him for travelling, it was concluded he ſhould be knock'd on the head: Accordingly he was brought before a great fire and the *Mohegan* that took him was allowed, as he deſired, to be his executioner. Mr. *Church* taking no delight in the ſport, fram'd an errand at ſome diſtance among the baggage-horſes, and when he had got ten rods or, thereabouts, from the fire, the executioner fetching a blow with a hatchet at the head of the priſoner, being aware of the blow, dodged his head aſide, and the executioner miſſing his ſtroke, the hatchet flew out of his hand,

* Country about *Worceſter*, *Oxford*, *Crafton*, *Dudley*, &c.

and

and had like to have done execution where it was not deſigned. The priſoner, upon his narrow eſcape, broke from them that held him, and, notwithſtanding his wound, made uſe of his legs, & happened to run right upon Mr. *Church*, who laid hold on him, and a cloſe ſkuffle they had, but the Indian having no clothes on ſlip'd from him, and ran again, and Mr. *Church* purſued the Indian, although being lame, there was no great odds in the race, until the Indian ſtumbled and fell, and they cloſed again, ſkuffled and fought pretty ſmartly, until the Indian, by the advantage of his nakedneſs, ſlip'd from his hold again, and ſet out on his third race, with Mr. *Church* cloſe at his heels, endeavouring to lay hold on the hair of his head, which was all the hold could be taken of him: And running thro' a ſwamp that was cover'd with hollow ice, it made ſo loud a noiſe that Mr. *Church* expected (but in vain) that ſome of his *Engliſh* friends would follow the noiſe, and come to his aſſiſtance. But the Indian happened to run athwart a large tree, that lay fallen near breaſt high, where he ſtopped, and cry'd out aloud for help; but Mr. *Church* being ſoon upon him again, the Indian ſeized him faſt by the hair of his head, and endeavouring by twiſting to break his neck, but though Mr. *Church*'s wounds had ſomewhat weakened him, and the Indian a ſtout fellow, yet he held him in play, and twiſted the Indian's neck as well, and took the advantage of many opportunities, while they hung by each other's hair, gave him notorious bunts in the face with his head. But in the heat of this ſkuffle they heard the ice break with ſomebody's coming apace to them, which when they heard, *Church* concluded there was help for one or other of them, but was doubtful which of them muſt now receive the fatal ſtroke; anon ſomebody comes up to them, who prov'd to be the Indian that had firſt taken the priſoner. Without ſpeaking a word, he felt them out, (for it was ſo dark he could not diſtinguiſh them by ſight) the one being clothed, and the other naked, he felt where Mr.

Church's

Church's hands were faſt'ned in the *Netop*'s hair, and with one blow ſettled his hatchet in between them, and ended the ſtrife. He then ſpoke to Mr. *Church*, and hugg'd him in his arms, and thank'd him abundantly for catching his priſoner; and cut off the head of his victim, and carried it to the camp; and giving an account to the reſt of the friend Indians in the camp, how Mr. *Church* had ſeized his priſoner, &c. they all join'd a mighty ſhout.

Proceeding in this march, they had the ſucceſs of killing many of the enemy; until at length their proviſions failing, they returned home.

King *Philip* (as was before hinted) was fled to a place called *Scattacook*, between *York* and *Albany*, where the *Moohags** made a deſcent upon him and killed many of his men, which moved him from thence.

His next kennelling place was at the falls of *Connecticut* river, ‡ where, ſometime after, Capt. *Turner* found him, came upon him by night, killed him a great many men, and frighten'd many more into the river, that were hurl'd down the falls and drowned.

Philip got over the river, and on the back ſide of *Wetuſet* hills meets with all the remnants of the *Narraganſet* & *Nipmuck*† Indians, that were there gathered together, and became very numerous, and made their deſcent on *Sudbury* and the adjacent parts of the country, where they met with and ſwallowed up valiant Capt. *Wadſworth* and his company, and many other doleful deſolations in thoſe parts. The news whereof coming to *Plymouth*, and they expecting probably the enemy would ſoon return again into their colony; the council of war were called together, and Mr. *Church* was ſent for to them, being obſerved by the whole colony to be a perſon extraordinary qualified for, and adapted to, the affairs of war. It was propoſed in council, that leſt the enemy, in their return, ſhould fall on *Rehoboth*, or ſome other of their out-towns, a company, conſiſting of 60 or 70 men, ſhould be ſent into thoſe parts; and Mr.

* *Mohawks.* ‡ Above *Deerfield.* † About *Rutland.* *Church*

Church invited to take the command of them. He told them, *That if the enemy returned into that colony again, they might reaſonably expect that they would come very numerous, and if he ſhould take the command of men, he ſhould not lie in any town or garriſon with them, but would lie in the woods as the enemy did: And that to ſend out ſuch ſmall companies againſt ſuch multitudes of the enemy that were now muſtered together, would be but to deliver ſo many men into their hands, to be deſtroyed, as the worthy Captain* Wadſworth *and his company were.* His advice upon the whole was, that if they ſent out any forces, to ſend no leſs than 300 ſoldiers; and that the other colonies ſhould be aſked to ſend out their quotas alſo; adding, *That if they intended to make an end of the war, by ſubduing the enemy, they muſt make a buſineſs of the war, as the enemy did; and that for his own part, he had wholly laid aſide all his own private buſineſs and concerns, ever ſince the war broke out.* He told them, *That if they would ſend forth ſuch forces as he ſhould direct to, he would go with them for ſix weeks march, which was long enough for men to be kept in the woods at once; and if they might be ſure of liberty to return in ſuch a ſpace, men would go out cheerfully; and he would engage* 150 *of the beſt ſoldiers ſhould immediately liſt voluntarily to go with him, if they would pleaſe to add* 50 *more; and* 100 *of the friend Indians; and with ſuch an army, he made no doubt, but he might do good ſervice; but on other terms he did not incline to be concerned.*

Their reply was, that they were already in debt, and ſo big an army would bring ſuch charge upon them, that they ſhould never be able to pay; and as for ſending out Indians, they thought it no ways adviſeable, and in ſhort none of his advice practicable.

Now Mr. *Church*'s conſort, and his then only ſon were till this time remaining at *Duxbury*, and his fearing their ſafety there (unleſs the war were more vigorouſly engaged in) reſolved to move to *Rhode-Iſland*, though it

was much oppoſed both by government and relations; but at length, the governor conſidering that he might be no leſs ſerviceable by being on that ſide of the colony, gave his permit, and wiſhed he had twenty more as good men to ſend with him.

Then preparing for his removal, he went with his ſmall family to *Plymouth*, to take leave of their friends, where they met with his wife's parents, who much perſuaded that ſhe might be left at Mr. *Clark*'s garriſon, (which they ſuppoſed to be a mighty ſafe place) or at leaſt that ſhe might be there until her ſoon expected lying-in was over, (being near her time.) Mr. *Church* no ways inclining to venture her any longer in thoſe parts, and no arguments prevailing with him, he reſolutely ſet out for *Taunton*, and many of their friends accompanied them. There they found Captain *Peirce* with a commanded party, who offered Mr. *Church* to ſend a relation of his with ſome others to guard him to *Rhode Iſland*; but Mr. *Church* thanked him for his reſpectful offer, but for ſome good reaſons refuſed to accept it. In ſhort, they got ſafe to Captain *John Almy*'s houſe upon *Rhode-Iſland*, where they met with friends and good entertainment. But, by the way, let me not forget this remarkable Providence, *viz.* That within twenty-four hours, or thereabouts, after their arrival at *Rhode-Iſland*, Mr. *Clark*'s garriſon that Mr. *Church* was ſo much importuned to leave his wife and children at, was deſtroyed by the enemy.

Mr. *Church* being at preſent diſenabled from any particular ſervice in the war, began to think of ſome other employ; but he no ſooner took a tool to cut a ſmall ſtick, but he cut off the top of his fore-finger, and the next to it half off; upon which he ſmilingly ſaid, that he thought he was out of his way, to leave the war, and reſolved he would to war again. Accordingly his ſecond ſon being born on the 12th of *May*, and his wife and ſon like to do well, Mr. *Church* embraces the opportunity of

a paſſage in a ſloop bound to *Barnſtable*; who landed him at *Sogkoneſſet*, from whence he rid to *Plymouth*; and arrived there on the firſt Tueſday in *June*: The General Court then ſitting welcomed him, and told him they were glad to ſee him alive. He replied, he was as glad to ſee them alive, for he had ſeen ſo many fires and ſmoakes towards their ſide of the country, ſince he left them, that he could ſcarce eat or ſleep with any comfort, for fear they had all been deſtroyed. For all traveiling was ſtopped, and no news had paſſed for a long time together. He gave them an account, that the Indians had made horrid deſolations at *Providence*, *Warwick*, *Pawtuxet*, and all over the *Narraganſet* country, and that they prevailed daily againſt the *Engliſh* on that ſide of the country: Told them, he longed to hear what methods they deſigned in the war. They told him, they were particularly glad that Providence had brought him there at that juncture; for they had concluded the very next day to ſend out an army of 200 men, two thirds *Engliſh*, and one third Indians, in ſome meaſure agreeable to his former propoſal; expecting *Boſton* and *Connecticut* to join with their quotas. In ſhort, it was ſo concluded, and that Mr. *Church* ſhould return to the iſland, and ſee what he could muſter there, of thoſe who had moved from *Swanzey*, *Dartmouth*, &c. So returning the ſame way he came; when he came to *Sogkoneſſet*, he had a ſham put upon him about a boat he had bought to go home in, and was forced to hire two of the friend Indians to paddle him in a canoe from *Eliſabeth*'s to *Rhode-Iſland*.

It fell out, that as they were in their voyage paſſing by *Sogkonate-point*, ſome of the enemy were upon the rocks a fiſhing; he bid the Indians that managed the canoe to paddle ſo near the rocks as that he might call to thoſe Indians; told them, that he had a great mind ever ſince the war broke out to ſpeak with ſome of the *Sogkonate* Indians, and that they were their relations, and therefore

they need not fear their hurting of them. And he added, *That he had a mighty conceit, that if he could get a fair opportunity to diſcourſe them, that he could draw them off from* Philip, *for he knew they never heartily loved him.* The enemy hallooed and made ſigns for the canoe to come to them; but when they approached them they ſkulked and hid in the clifts of the rocks; then Mr. *Church* ordered the canoe to be paddled off again, leſt if he came too near they ſhould fire upon him. Then the Indians appearing again, beck'ned and call'd in the Indian language, and bid them come aſhore, for they wanted to ſpeak with him. The Indians in the canoe anſwered them again; but they on the rocks told them, that the ſurf made ſuch a noiſe againſt the rocks, they could not hear any thing they ſaid. Then Mr. *Church*, by ſigns with his hands, gave to underſtand, that he would have two of them go down upon the point of the beach (a place where a man might ſee who was near him) accordingly two of them ran along the beach, and met him there without their arms, excepting that one of them had a lance in his hand; they urged Mr. *Church* to come aſhore, for they had a great deſire to have ſome diſcourſe with him. He told them, if he that had his weapon in his hand would carry it up ſome diſtance upon the beach, and leave it, he would come aſhore and diſcourſe them. He did ſo, and Mr. *Church* went aſhore, haled up his canoe, ordered one of his Indians to ſtay by it, and the other to walk above on the beach, as a centinel, to ſee that the coaſts were clear; and when Mr. *Church* came up to the Indians, one of them happened to be honeſt *George*, one of the two that *Awaſhonks* formerly ſent to call him to her dance, and was ſo careful to guard him back to his houſe again, the laſt *Sogkonate* Indian he ſpoke with before the war broke out; he ſpoke *Engliſh* very well. Mr. *Church* aſked him where *Awaſhonks* was? He told him in a ſwamp about three miles off. Mr. *Church* aſked

aſked him, what it was he wanted that he hallooed and called him aſhore? He anſwered, that he took him for *Church* as ſoon as he heard his voice in the canoe, and that he was very glad to ſee him alive, and he believed his miſtreſs would be as glad to ſee him, and ſpeak with him; he told him further, that he believed ſhe was not fond of maintaining a war with the *Engliſh*, and that ſhe had left *Philip*, and did not intend to return to him any more; he was mighty earneſt with Mr. *Church* to tarry there while he would run and call her; but he told him no, for he did not know but the Indians would come down and kill him before he could get back again; he ſaid, if *Mount-Hope*, or *Pocaſſet* Indians could catch him, he believed they would knock him on the head, but all *Sogkonate* Indians knew him very well, and he believed none of them would hurt him. In ſhort, Mr. *Church* refuſed then to tarry, but promiſed that he would come over again, and ſpeak with *Awaſhonks*, and ſome other Indians that he had a mind to talk with.

Accordingly he appointed him to notify *Awaſhonks*, her ſon *Peter*, their chief Captain, and one *Nompaſh* (an Indian that Mr. *Church* had formerly a particular reſpect for) to meet him two days after, at a rock at the lower end of Captain *Richmond*'s farm, which was a very noted place; and if that day ſhould prove ſtormy, or windy, they were to expect him the next moderate day, Mr. *Church* telling *George* that he would have him come with the perſons mentioned, and no more. They giving each other their hand upon it parted, and Mr. *Church* went home, and the next morning to *Newport*, and informed the government of what had paſſed between him and the *Sogkonate* Indians, and deſired their permit for him and *Daniel Wilcox* (a man that well underſtood the Indian language) to go over to them. They told him, that they thought he was mad, after ſuch ſervice as he had done, and ſuch dangers that he eſcaped, now to throw away his life, for the rogues

rogues would as certainly kill him, as ever he went over; and utterly refuſed to grant his permit, or to be willing that he ſhould run the riſque.

Mr. *Church* told them, *That it ever had been in his thoughts ſince the war broke out, that if he could diſcourſe the* Sogkonate *Indians, he could draw them off from* Philip, *and employ them againſt him; but could not, till now, never have an opportunity to ſpeak with any of them, and was very loath to looſe it,* &c. At length they told him, if he would go, it ſhould be only with the two Indians that came with him; but they would give him no permit under their hands. He took his leave of them, reſolving to proſecute his deſign; they told him they were ſorry to ſee him ſo reſolute, nor if he went did they ever expect to ſee his face again.

He bought a bottle of rum, and a ſmall roll of tobacco, to carry with him, and returned to his family. The next day, being the day appointed for the meeting, he prepared two light canoes for the deſign, and his own man, with the two Indians for his company. He uſed ſuch arguments with his tender, and now almoſt broken hearted wife, from the experience of former preſervations, and the proſpect of the great ſervice he might do, might it pleaſe God to ſucceed his deſign, &c. that he obtained her conſent to his attempt; and committing her, the babes and himſelf to Heaven's protection, he ſet out. They had from the ſhore about a league to paddle; drawing near the place, they ſaw the Indians ſetting on the bank, waiting for their coming. Mr. *Church* ſent one of his Indians aſhore in one of the canoes, to ſee whether they were the ſame Indians whom he had appointed to meet him, and no more; and if ſo to ſtay aſhore and ſend *George* to fetch him; accordingly *George* came and fetch'd Mr. *Church* aſhore, while the other canoe played off to ſee the event, and to carry tidings if the Indians ſhould prove falſe.

Mr.

Mr. *Church* aſked *George* whether *Awaſhonks* and the other Indians he appointed to meet him were there? He anſwered they were; he then aſked him if there were no more than they whom he appointed to be there? To which he would give him no direct anſwer. However, he went aſhore, where he was no ſooner landed, but *Awaſhonks* and the reſt that he had appointed to meet them there, roſe up and came down to meet him; and each of them ſucceſſively gave him their hands, and expreſſed themſelves glad to ſee him, and gave him thanks for expoſing himſelf to viſit them. They walked together about a gunſhot from the water, to a convenient place to ſit down. Where at once roſe up a great body of Indians, who had lain hid in the graſs, (that was high as a man's waiſt) and gathered round them, till they had cloſed them in; being all armed with guns, ſpears, hatchets, *&c.* with their hair trimmed and faces painted, in their warlike appearance. It was doubtleſs ſomewhat ſurpriſing to our Gentleman at firſt, but without any viſible diſcovery of it, after a ſmall ſilent pauſe on each ſide, he ſpoke to *Awaſhonks*, and told her, *That* George *had informed him that ſhe had a deſire to ſee him, and diſcourſe about making peace with the* Engliſh. She anſwered yes; then ſaid Mr. *Church*, *it is cuſtomary when people meet to treat of peace, to lay aſide their arms, and not to appear in ſuch hoſtile form as your people do*; deſired of her, that if they might talk about peace, which he deſired they might, *her men might lay aſide their arms, and appear more treatable.* Upon which there began a conſiderable noiſe and murmur among them in their own language, till *Awaſhonks* aſked him, what arms they ſhould lay down, and where? He (perceiving the Indians looked very ſurly, and much diſpleaſed) replied, *only their guns at ſome ſmall diſtance, for formality's ſake*; upon which, with one conſent, they laid aſide their guns, and came and ſat down.

Mr. *Church* pulled out his calabaſh and aſked *Awa-*

ſhonks,

ſhonks, whether ſhe had lived ſo long at Wetuſet, *as to forget to drink* Occapeches; and drinking to her, he perceived that ſhe watched him very diligently, to ſee (as he tho't) whether he ſwallowed any of the rum; he offered her the ſhell, but ſhe deſired him to drink again firſt, he then told her, *there was no poiſon in it*, and pouring ſome into the palm of his hand, ſipped it up, and took the ſhell and drank to her again, and drank a good ſwig, which indeed was no more than he needed. Then they all ſtanding up, he ſaid to *Awaſhonks*, *you won't drink for fear there ſhould be poiſon in it*; and then handed it to a little ill-looking fellow, who catched it readily enough, and as greedily would have ſwallowed the liquor when he had it at his mouth; but Mr. *Church* catched him by the throat and took it from him, aſking him, *whether he intended to ſwallow ſhell and all?* And then handed it to *Awaſhonks*, ſhe ventured to take a good hearty dram, and paſſed it among her attendants.

The ſhell being emptied, he pulled out his tobacco, and having diſtributed it, they began to talk.

Awaſhonks demanded of him the reaſon why he had not (agreeable to his promiſe when ſhe ſaw him laſt) been down at *Sogkonate* before now, ſaying, that probably if he had come then, according to his promiſe, they had never joyned with *Philip* againſt the *Engliſh*.

He told her he was prevented by the war's breaking out ſo ſuddenly, and yet he was afterwards coming down, and came as far as *Punkateeſe*, where a great many Indians ſet upon him, and fought him a whole afternoon, tho' he did not come prepared to fight, had but nineteen men with him, whoſe chief deſign was to gain an opportunity to diſcourſe ſome *Sogkonate* Indians. Upon this there at once aroſe a mighty murmur, confuſed noiſe, and talk among the fierce looking creatures, and all riſing up in a hubbub; and a great ſurly looking fellow took up his Tomhog, or wooden cutlaſh, to kill Mr. *Church*, but ſome others prevented him.

The

The interpreter aſked Mr. *Church*, if he underſtood what it was that the great fellow (they had hold of) ſaid? He anſwered him, no. Why, ſaid the interpreter, he ſays, you killed his brother at *Punkateeſe*, and therefore he thirſts for your blood. Mr. *Church* bid the interpreter tell him that his brother began firſt; that if he had kept at *Sogkonate*, according to his deſire and order, he ſhould not have hurt him.

Then the chief Captain commanded *ſilence*, and told them, that they ſhould talk no more about old things, *&c.* and quelled the tumult, ſo that they ſat down again, and began upon a diſcourſe of making peace with the *Engliſh*. Mr. *Church* aſked them, *what propoſals they would make, and on what terms they would break their league with* Philip? Deſiring them to make ſome propoſals that he might carry to his maſters, telling them that it was not in his power to conclude a peace with them, but that he knew that if their propoſals were reaſonable, the government would not be unreaſonable; and that he would uſe his intereſt with the government for them; and to encourage them to proceed, put them in mind that the *Pequots* once made war with the *Engliſh*, and that after they ſubjected themſelves to the *Engliſh*, the *Engliſh* became their protectors, and defended them againſt other nations that would otherwiſe have deſtroyed them, &c. After ſome further diſcourſe and debate, he brought them at length to conſent, that if the Government of *Plymouth* would firmly engage to them, *that they, and all of them, and their wives and children, ſhould have their lives ſpared, and none of them tranſported out of the country, they would ſubject themſelves to them, and ſerve them in what they were able.*

Then Mr. *Church* told them, That he was well ſatisfied the Government of *Plymouth* would readily concur with what they propoſed, and would ſign their articles: And complimenting them upon it, how pleaſed he was with the

thoughts of their return, and of the former friendſhip that had been between them, *&c.*

The chief Captain roſe up, and expreſſed the great value and reſpect he had for Mr. *Church*; and bowing to him ſaid, *Sir, If you'll pleaſe to accept of me and my men, and will head us, we'll fight for you, and will help you to* Philip's *head before the Indian corn be ripe*; and when he had ended, they all expreſſed their conſent to what he ſaid, and told Mr. *Church* they loved him, and were willing to go with him and fight for him, as long as the *Engliſh* had one enemy left in the country.

Mr. *Church* aſſured them, that if they proved as good as their word, they ſhould find him their's and their children's faſt friend. And (by the way) the friendſhip is maintained between them to this day.

Then he propoſed unto them, that they ſhould chooſe five men to go ſtraight with him to *Plymouth*: They told him no; they would not chooſe, but he ſhould take which five he pleaſed; ſome compliments paſſed about it, at length it was agreed, they ſhould chooſe three, and he two. Then he agreed, that he would go back to the iſland that night, and would come to them the next morning, and go through the woods to *Plymouth*; but they afterwards objected, that his travelling through the woods would not be ſafe for him; the enemy might meet with them, and kill him, and then they ſhould looſe their friend, and the whole deſign ruined beſide. And therefore propoſed, that he ſhould come in an *Engliſh* veſſel, and they would meet him, and come on board at *Sogkonate-point*, and ſail from thence to *Sandwich*, which, in fine, was concluded upon.

So Mr. *Church* promiſing to come as ſoon as he could poſſibly obtain a veſſel, and then they parted. He returned to the iſland, and was at great pains and charge to get a veſſel, but with unaccountable diſappointments, ſometimes by the falſeneſs, and ſometimes by the faint-

heartedneſs

heartedneſs of men that he bargained with, and ſomething by wind and weather, *&c.* until at length Mr. *Anthony Low* put into the harbour with a loaden veſſel bound to the weſtward, and being made acquainted with Mr. *Church*'s caſe, told him, *That he had ſo much kindneſs for him, and was ſo pleaſed with the buſineſs he was engaged in, that he would run the venture of his veſſel and cargo, to wait upon him.* Accordingly, next morning they ſet ſail with a wind that ſoon brought them to *Sogkonate* point; but coming there they met with a contrary wind, and a great ſwelling ſea.

The Indians were there waiting upon the rocks, but had nothing but a miſerable broken canoe to get aboard in; yet *Peter Awaſhonks* ventured off in it, and with a great deal of difficulty and danger got aboard: And by this time it began to rain and blow exceedingly, and forced them up the Sound; and then went away through *Briſtol* ferry, round the iſland to *Newport*, carrying *Peter* with them.

Then Mr. *Church* diſmiſſed Mr. *Low*, and told him, *That inaſmuch as Providence oppoſed his going by water, and he expected that the army would be up in a few days, and probably if he ſhould be gone at that juncture, it might ruin the whole deſign; would therefore yield his voyage.*

Then he writ the account of his tranſactions with the Indians, and drew up the propoſals, and articles of peace, and deſpatched *Peter* with them to *Plymouth*, that his Honour the Governor, if he ſaw cauſe, might ſign them.

Peter was ſent over to *Sogkonate* on the Lord's Day morning, with orders to take thoſe men that were choſen to go down, or ſome of them at leaſt with him. The time being expired that was appointed for the *Engliſh* army to come, there was great looking for them. Mr. *Church* on the Monday morning (partly to divert himſelf after his fatigue, and partly to liſten for the army) rid out with his wife, and ſome of his friends to *Portſmouth*, un-

der a pretence of cherrying; but came home without any news from the army: But by midnight, or ſooner, he was rouſed with an expreſs from Major *Bradford*, who was arrived with the army at *Pocaſſet*; to whom he forthwith repaired, and informed him of the whole of his proceedings with the *Sogkonate* Indians. With the Major's conſent and advice, he returned again next morning to the iſland, in order to go over that way to *Awaſhonks*, to inform her that the army was arrived, &c. Accordingly from *Sachueeſet-Neck* * he went in a canoe to *Sogkonate*; told her that Major *Bradford* was arrived at *Pocaſſet*, with a great army, whom he had informed of all his proceedings with her; that if ſhe would be adviſed and obſerve order ſhe nor her people need not to fear being hurt by them; told her, ſhe ſhould call all her people down into the neck, leſt if they ſhould be found ſtraggling about, miſchief might light on them; that on the morrow they would come down and receive her, and give her further orders. She promiſed to get as many of her people together as poſſibly ſhe could: Deſiring Mr. *Church* to conſider that it would be difficult for to get them together at ſuch ſhort warning. Mr. *Church* returned to the iſland and to the army the ſame night. The next morning the whole army marched towards *Sogkonate*, as far as *Punkateeſe*; and Mr. *Church* with a few men went down to *Sogkonate* to call *Awaſhonks*, and her people to come up to the *Engliſh* camp; as he was going down, they met with a *Pocaſſet* Indian; who had killed a cow and got a quarter of her on his back, and her tongue in his pocket; who gave them an account, that he came from *Pocaſſet* two days ſince in company with his mother, and ſeveral other Indians, now hid in the ſwamp above *Nomquid*; † diſarming of him, he ſent him by two men to Major *Bradford*, and proceeded to *Sogkonate*. They ſaw ſeveral Indians by the way ſkulking about, but let them paſs; arriving at *Awaſhonks*

* The ſouth-eaſt corner of *Rhode-Iſland*. † In *Tiverton*.

ſhonks camp, told her, *He was come to invite her and her people up to* Punkateeſe,* *where Major* Bradford *now was with the* Plymouth *army, expecting her and her ſubjects to receive orders, until further order could be had from the Government.* She complied, and ſoon ſent out orders for ſuch of her ſubjects as were not with her, immediately to come in; and by twelve o' clock of the next day, ſhe with moſt of her number appeared before the *Engliſh* camp at *Punkateeſe*. Mr. *Church* tendered the Major to ſerve under his commiſſion, provided the Indians might be accepted with him, to fight the enemy. The Major told him, *his orders were to improve him, if he pleaſed, but as for the Indians he would not be concerned with them.* And preſently gave forth orders for *Awaſhonks*, and all her ſubjects, both men, women and children, to repair to *Sandwich*, and to be there upon peril, in ſix days. *Awaſhonks* and her chiefs gathered round Mr. *Church*, (where he was walked off from the reſt) expreſſed themſelves concerned that they could not be confided in, nor improved. He told them, *it was beſt to obey orders, and that if he could not accompany them to* Sandwich, *it ſhould not be above a week before he would meet them there; that he was confident the Governor would commiſſion him to improve them.* The Major haſtened to ſend them away with *Jack Havens*, (an Indian who had never been in the wars) in the front with a flag of truce in his hand. They being gone, Mr. *Church*, by the help of his man *Toby* (the Indian whom he had taken priſoner as he was going down to *Sogkonate*) took ſaid *Toby*'s mother, and thoſe that were with her, priſoners. Next morning the whole army moved back to *Pocaſſet*. This *Toby* informed them that there were a great many Indians gone down to *Wepoiſet* to eat clams, other proviſions being very ſcarce with them) that *Philip* himſelf was expected within 3 or 4 days at the ſame place; being aſked *what Indians they were?* He anſwered ſome *Weetemores* Indians, ſome *Mount-Hope* Indians, ſome *Nar-*

* Adjoining *Fogland*-Ferry.

raganſet

raganset Indians, and ſome other Upland Indians, in all about 300.

The *Rhode-Iſland* boats, by the Major's order, meeting them at *Pocaſſet*, they were ſoon embarked, it being juſt in the duſk of the evening, they could plainly diſcover the enemies fires at the place the Indian directed to; and the army concluded no other but they were bound directly thither, until they came to the north end of the iſland, and heard the word of command for the boats to bare away. Mr. *Church* was very fond of having this probable opportunity of ſurpriſing that whole company of Indians imbraced; but orders, it was ſaid, muſt be obeyed, which was to go to *Mount-Hope*, and there to fight *Philip*. This with ſome other good opportunities of doing ſpoil upon the enemy, being unhappily miſſed, Mr. *Church* obtained the Major's conſent to meet the *Sogkonate* Indians, according to his promiſe. He was offered a guard to *Plymouth*, but choſe to go with one man only, who was a good pilot. About ſun-ſet he, with *Sabin* his pilot, mounted their horſes at *Rehoboth*, where the army now was, and by two hours by ſun next morning arrived ſafe at *Plymouth*; and by that time they had refreſhed themſelves, the Governor and Treaſurer came to town. Mr. *Church* giving them a ſhort account of the affairs of the army, *&c.* His Honour was pleaſed to give him thanks for the good and great ſervice he had done at *Sogkonate*, told him, *He had confirmed all that he had promiſed* Awaſhonks, *and had ſent the Indian back again that brought his letter.* He aſked his Honour *Whether he had any thing later from* Awaſhonks? He told him he had not. Whereupon he gave his Honour an account of the Major's orders relating to her and hers, and what diſcourſe had paſſed *pro* and *con*, about them; and that he had promiſed to meet them, and that he had encouraged them, that he thought he might obtain of his Honour a commiſſion to lead them forth to fight *Philip*. His Honour ſmilingly told him, *That he ſhould not want*

commiſſion

commiſſion if he would accept it, nor yet good Engliſh men enough to make up a good army. But in ſhort, he told his Honour the time was expired that he had appointed to meet the *Sogkonates* at *Sandwich*. The Governor aſked him, when he would go? He told him that afternoon, by his Honour's leave. The Governor aſked him how many men he would have with him? He anſwered not above half a dozen, with an order to take more at *Sandwich*, if he ſaw cauſe, and horſes provided. He no ſooner moved it, but had his number of men tendering to go with him, among which was Mr. *Jabez Howland*, and *Nathaniel Southworth*; they went to *Sandwich* that night, where Mr. *Church* (with need enough) took a nap of ſleep. The next morning, with about 16 or 18 men, he proceeded as far as *Agawom*, where they had great expectation of meeting the Indians, but met them not; his men being diſcouraged about half of them returned; only half a dozen ſtuck by him, and promiſed ſo to do until they ſhould meet with the Indians. When they came to *Sippican River*,* Mr. *Howland* began to tire, upon which Mr. *Church* left him, and two more, for a reſerve at the river, that if he ſhould meet with enemies and be forced back, they might be ready to aſſiſt them in getting over the river. Proceeding in their march, they croſſed another river, and opened a great bay, where they might ſee many miles along ſhore, where were ſands and flats; and hearing a great noiſe below them towards the ſea, they diſmounted their horſes, left them and creep'd among the buſhes, until they came near the bank, and ſaw a vaſt company of Indians of all ages and ſexes, ſome on horſe-back running races, ſome at foot-ball, ſome catching eels and flat-fiſh in the water, ſome clamming, *&c.* but which way with ſafety to find out what Indians they were, they were at a loſs. But at length, retiring into a thicket, Mr. *Church* hallooed to them; they ſoon anſwered him, and a couple of ſmart young fellows, well mounted, came upon a full career

* *Rocheſter.*

career to ſee who it might be that called, and came juſt upon Mr. *Church* before they diſcovered him; but when they perceived themſelves ſo near *Engliſhmen*, and armed, were much ſurpriſed, and tacked ſhort about to run as faſt back as they came forward, until one of the men in the buſhes called to them, and told them his name was *Church*, and need not fear his hurting of them. Upon which, after a ſmall pauſe, they turned about their horſes, and came up to him; one of them that could ſpeak *Engliſh* Mr. *Church* took aſide and examined, who informed him, that the Indians below were *Awaſhonks* and her company, and that *Jack Havens* was among them; whom Mr. *Church* immediately ſent for to come to him, and ordered the meſſenger to inform *Awaſhonks* that he was come to meet her; *Jack Havens* ſoon came, and by that time Mr. *Church* had aſked him a few queſtions, and had been ſatisfied by him, that it was *Awaſhonks* and her company that were below, and that *Jack* had been kindly treated by them, a company of Indians all mounted on horſeback, and well armed, came riding up to Mr. *Church*, but treated him with all due reſpects. He then ordered *Jack* to go tell *Awaſhonks*, that he deſigned to ſup with her in the evening, and to lodge in her camp that night. Then taking ſome of the Indians with him, he went back to the river to take care of Mr. *Howland*. Mr. *Church* having a mind to try what metal he was made of, imparted his notion to the Indians that were with him, and gave them directions how to act their parts; when he came pretty near the place, he and his *Engliſhmen* pretendedly fled, firing on their retreat towards the Indians that purſued them, and they firing as faſt after them. Mr. *Howland* being upon his guard, hearing the guns, and by and by ſeeing the motion both of the *Engliſh* and Indians, concluded his friends were diſtreſſed, was ſoon on the full career on horſeback to meet them, until he perceiving their laughing, miſtruſted the truth. As ſoon as Mr.

Church

Church had given him the news, they haſtened away to *Awaſhonks*. Upon their arrival, they were immediately conducted to a ſhelter, open on one ſide, whither *Awaſhonks* and her chiefs ſoon came and paid their reſpects; and the multitudes gave ſhouts as made the heavens to ring.

It being now about ſun-ſetting, or near the duſk of the evening, the Netops came running from all quarters loaden with the tops of dry pines, and the like combuſtible matter, making a huge pile thereof, near Mr. *Church*'s ſhelter, on the open ſide thereof; but by this time ſupper was brought in, in three diſhes, *viz.* a curious young baſs in one diſh, eels and flat fiſh in a ſecond, and ſhell-fiſh in a third, but neither bread nor ſalt to be ſeen at table; but by that time ſupper was over, the mighty pile of pine knots and tops, *&c.* was fired, and all the Indians, great and ſmall gathered in a ring round it. *Awaſhonks* with the oldeſt of her people, men and women mixed, kneeling down made the firſt ring next the fire, and all the luſty ſtout men ſtanding up made the next, and then all the rabble in a confuſed crew ſurrounded on the out-ſide. Then the chief Captain ſtepped in between the rings and the fire, with a ſpear in one hand, and a hatchet in the other, danced round the fire, and began to fight with it, making mention of all the ſeveral nations and companies of Indians in the country that were enemies to the *Engliſh*; and at naming of every particular tribe of Indians, he would draw out and fight a new fire-brand, and at finiſhing his fight with each particular fire-brand, would bow to him and thank him; and when he had named all the ſeveral nations and tribes, and fought them all, he ſtuck down his ſpear and hatchet, and came out; and another ſtept in and acted over the ſame dance, with more fury, if poſſible, than the firſt; and when about half a dozen of their chiefs had thus acted their parts, the Captain of the guard ſtept up to Mr. *Church*

and

and told him, *They were making ſoldiers for him, and what they had been doing was all one ſwearing of them, and having in that manner engaged all the ſtout luſty men*; *Awaſhonks* and her chiefs came to Mr. *Church*, and told him, *That now they were all engaged to fight for the* Engliſh, *and he might call forth all, or any of them at any time as he ſaw occaſion to fight the enemy*; and preſented him with a very fine firelock. Mr. *Church* accepts their offer, drew out a number of them, and ſet out next morning before day for *Plymouth*, where they arrived the ſame day.

The Governor being informed of it, came early to town next morning, and by that time he had *Engliſhmen* enough to make up a good company, when joined with Mr. *Church*'s Indians, that offered their voluntary ſervice, to go under his command in queſt of the enemy. The Governor then gave him a commiſſion, which is as follows:

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN CHURCH, *you are hereby nominated, ordered, commiſſioned, and empowered to raiſe a company of volunteers of about* 200 *men,* Engliſh *and* Indians; *the* Engliſh *not exceeding the number of* 60, *of which company, or ſo many of them as you can obtain, or ſhall ſee cauſe at preſent to improve, you are to take the command and conduct, and to lead them forth now and hereafter, at ſuch time, and unto ſuch places within this colony, or elſewhere, within the confederate colonies, as you ſhall think fit; to diſcover, purſue, fight, ſurpriſe, deſtroy, or ſubdue our Indian enemies, or any part or parties of them that by the providence of God you may meet with; or them, or any of them, by treaty and compoſition to receive to mercy, if you ſee reaſon (provided they be not murderous rogues, or ſuch as have been principal actors in thoſe villanies:) And foraſmuch as your company may be uncertain, & the perſons often changed, you are alſo hereby empowered, with the advice of your company, to chooſe and commiſſionate a Lieutenant, and to eſtabliſh*

ſtabliſh Serjeants, and Corporals as you ſee cauſe; And you herein improving your beſt judgment and diſcretion and utmoſt ability, faithfully to ſerve the intereſt of God, his Majeſty's intereſt, and the intereſt of the colony; and carefully governing your ſaid company at home and abroad. Theſe ſhall be unto you full and ample commiſſion, warrant and diſcharge. Given under the public ſeal, this 24th day of July, 1676.

Per JOS. WINSLOW, GOVERNOR.

Receiving commiſſion, he marched the ſame night into the woods, got to *Middleborough* before day, and as ſoon as the light appeared, took into the woods and ſwampy thickets, towards a place where they had ſome reaſon to expect to meet with a parcel of *Narraganſet* Indians, with ſome others that belonged to *Mount-Hope*. Coming near to where they expected them, Captain *Church*'s Indian ſcout diſcovered the enemy, and well obſerving their fires, and poſtures, returned with the intelligence to their Captain, who gave ſuch directions for the ſurrounding of them, as had the deſired effect; ſurpriſing them from every ſide ſo unexpectedly, that they were all taken, not ſo much as one eſcaped. And upon a ſtrict examination, they gave intelligence of another parcel of the enemy, at a place called *Munponſet-Pond*. Captain *Church* haſtening with his priſoners through the woods to *Plymouth*, diſpoſed of them all, excepting only one *Jeffery*, who proving very ingenuous and faithful to him, in informing where other parcels of Indians harboured; Captain *Church* promiſed him, that if he continued to be faithful to him, he ſhould not be ſold out of the country, but ſhould be his waiting man, to take care of his horſe, *&c.* and accordingly he ſerved him faithfully as long as he lived.

But Captain *Church* was forthwith ſent out again, and the terms for his encouragement being concluded on, *viz. That the country ſhould find them ammunition and proviſion*

ſion, and have half the priſoners and arms they took: The Captain and his Engliſh *ſoldiers to have the other half of the priſoners and arms, and the Indian ſoldiers the looſe plunder.* Poor encouragement! But after ſome time it was mended.

They ſoon captivated the *Munponſets*, and brought them in, not one eſcaping. This ſtroke he held ſeveral weeks, never returning empty handed. When he wanted intelligence of their kenneiling places, he would march to ſome place likely to meet with ſome travellers or ramblers, and ſcattering his company, would lie cloſe; and ſeldom lay above a day, or two, at the moſt, before ſome of them would fall into their hands, whom he would compel to inform where their company was; and ſo by his method of ſecret and ſudden ſurpriſes took great numbers of them priſoners.

The government obſerving his extraordinary courage and conduct, and the ſucceſs from Heaven added to it, ſaw cauſe to enlarge his commiſſion; gave him power to raiſe and diſmiſs his forces, as he ſhould ſee occaſion; to commiſſionate officers under him, and to march as far as he ſhould ſee cauſe, within the limits of the three united colonies: To receive to mercy, give quarter, or not; excepting ſome particular and noted murderers: *viz. Philip* and all that were at the deſtroying of Mr. *Clark*'s garriſon, and ſome few others.

Major *Bradford* being now at *Taunton* with his army, and wanting proviſions, ſome carts were ordered from *Plymouth* for their ſupply, and Captain *Church* to guard them; but he obtaining other guards for the carts, as far as *Middleborough*, ran before with a ſmall company, hoping to meet with ſome of the enemy, appointing the carts and their guards to meet with them at *Nemaſcut*,* about an hour after ſun's riſing next morning; he arrived there about the breaking of the day-light, diſcovered a company of the enemy; but his time was too ſhort to wait for gaining

* Near *Rayuham*.

ing advantage, and therefore ran right in upon them, ſurpriſed and captivated about 16 of them, who, upon examination, informed, that *Tiſpaquin*, a very famous Captain among the enemy was at *Aſſawompſet*,* with a numerous company.

But the carts muſt now be guarded, and the opportunity of viſiting *Tiſpaquin* muſt now be laid aſide: The carts are to be faithfully guarded, leſt *Tiſpaquin* ſhould attack them.

Coming towards *Taunton*, Capt. *Church* taking two men with him, made all ſpeed to the town; and coming to the river ſide, he halloo'd, and inquiring of them that came to the river, for Major *Bradford*, or his Captains; he was inform'd they were in the town, at the tavern.—He told them of the carts that were coming, that he had the cumber of guarding them, which had already prevented his improving opportunities of doing ſervice.—Pray'd therefore that a guard might be ſent over to receive the carts, that he might be at liberty; refuſing all invitations and perſuaſions to go over to the tavern to viſit the Major: He at length obtained a guard to receive the carts; by whom alſo he ſent his priſoners, to be convey'd with the carts, to *Plymouth*, directing them not to return by the way they came, but by *Bridgwater*.

Haſt'ning back, he propoſed to camp that night at *Aſſawomſet* neck. But as ſoon as they came to the river that runs into the great pond through the thick ſwamp, at the entering of the neck, the enemy fired upon them, but hurt not a man. Capt. *Church*'s Indians ran right into the ſwamp, and fired upon them, but it being in the duſk of the evening, the enemy made their eſcape in the thickets: The Capt. then moving about a mile into the neck, took the advantage of a ſmall valley to feed his horſes; ſome held the horſes by the bridles, the reſt on the guard look'd ſharp out for the enemy, within hearing on avery ſide, and ſome

* In *Middleborough*.

ſome very near; but in the dead of the night, the enemy being out of hearing, or ſtill, Capt. *Church* moved out of the neck, (not the ſame way he came in, leſt he ſhould be ambuſcado'd) towards *Cuſhnet*,* where all the houſes were burnt; and croſſing *Cuſhnet* river, being extremely fatigued with two nights and one day's ramble without reſt or ſleep; and obſerving good forage for their horſes, the Captain concluded upon baiting, and taking a nap: Setting ſix men to watch the paſſage of the river, two to watch at a time, while the others ſlept, and ſo to take their turns, while the reſt of the company went into a thicket, to ſleep under the guard of two centinels more. But the whole company being very drowſy, ſoon forgot their danger, and were faſt aſleep, centinels and all. The Captain firſt awakes, looks up, and judges he had ſlept four hours, which being longer than he deſigned, immediately rouſes his company, and ſends away a file to ſee what was become of the watch at the paſſage of the river, but they no ſooner opened the river in ſight, but they diſcovered a company of the enemy viewing of their tracks, where they came into the neck; Capt. *Church*, and thoſe with him, ſoon diſperſed into the bruſh on each ſide of the way, while the file ſent got undiſcovered to the paſſage of the river, and found their watch all faſt aſleep: But theſe tidings thoroughly awakened the whole company. But the enemy giving them no preſent diſturbance, they examined their ſnapſacks, and taking a little refreſhment, the Captain orders one party to guard the horſes, and the other to ſcout, who ſoon met with a track, and following of it, they were brought to a ſmall company of Indians, who proved to be *Little Eyes*, and family, and near relations, who were of *Sogkonate*, but had forſaken their countrymen, upon their making peace with the *Engliſh*. Some of Capt. *Church*'s Indians aſked him, *If he did not know this fellow?* Told him, *This is the rogue that would have killed*

* In *Dartmouth*.

killed you at Awaſhonk's *dance* ; and ſignified to him that now he had an opportunity to be revenged on him. But the Captain told them, *It was not Engliſhmen's faſhion to ſeek revenge* ; *and that he ſhould have the ſame quarter the reſt had.* Moving to the river ſide, they found an old canoe, with which the Captain ordered *Little Eyes* and his company to be carried over to an iſland ; telling him, *He would leave him on that iſland until he returned* ; *and leſt the Engliſh ſhould light on them, and kill them, he would leave his couſin* Light-foot *(whom the Engliſh knew to be their friend) to be his guard. Little Eyes* expreſſed himſelf very thankful to the Captain. He leaving his orders with *Light-foot*, returns to the river ſide, towards *Poneganſet*, to *Ruſſell*'s orchard ; coming near the orchard, they clapp'd into a thicket, and there lodg'd the reſt of the night without any fire ; and upon the morning light appearing, moves towards the orchard, diſcovers ſome of the enemy, who had been there the day before, and had beat down all the apples, and carried them away ; diſcovered alſo where they had lodg'd that night, and ſaw the ground where they let their baſkets bloody, being, as they ſuppoſed, and as it was afterwards diſcovered to be, with the fleſh of ſwine, &c. which they had killed that day : They had lain under the fences without any fires, and ſeemed, by the marks they left behind them, to be very numerous ; perceived alſo, by the dew on the graſs, that they had not been long gone ; and therefore mov'd apace in purſuit of them. Travelling three miles, or more, they came into the country road, where the track parted, one parcel ſteered towards the weſt end of the great cedar ſwamp, and the other to the eaſt end. The Captain halted, and told his Indian ſoldiers, *That they had heard, as well as he, what ſome men had ſaid at* Plymouth, *about them, &c. That now was a good opportunity for each party to prove themſelves : The track being divided, they ſhould follow one, and the Engliſh the other, being equal in number.*

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The Indians declined the motion, and were not willing to move any where without him; ſaid, *they ſhould not think themſelves ſafe without him.* But the Captain inſiſting upon it, they ſubmitted; he gave the Indians their choice to follow which track they pleaſed; they replied, *They were light, and able to travel, therefore, if he pleaſed, they would take the weſt track.* And appointing the ruins of *John Cook*'s houſe at *Cuſhnet*, for the place to meet at, each company ſet out briſkly to try their fortunes. Captain *Church*, with his *Engliſh* ſoldiers, followed their track until they came near entering a miery ſwamp, when the Captain heard a whiſtle in the rear, (which was a note for a halt) looking behind him, he ſaw *William Fobes* ſtart out of the company and made towards him, who haſt'ned to meet him as faſt as he could; *Fobes* told him they had diſcovered abundance of Indians, and if he pleaſed to go a few ſteps back he might ſee them himſelf: He did ſo, and ſaw them acroſs the ſwamp, obſerving them, he perceived they were gathering *whortle-berries*, and that they had no apprehenſions of their being ſo near them: The Captain ſuppoſed them to be chiefly women, and therefore calling one Mr. *Dillano*, who was acquainted with the ground, and the Indian language, and another named Mr. *Barns*; with theſe two men he takes right thro' the ſwamp as faſt as he could, and orders the reſt to haſten after them. Capt. *Church*, with *Dillano* and *Barns*, having good horſes, ſpurr'd on, and were ſoon amongſt the thickeſt of the Indians, and out of ſight of their own men: Among the enemy was an Indian woman, who with her huſband had been drove off from *Rhode-Iſland*, notwithſtanding they had an houſe upon Mr. *Sanford*'s land, and had planted an orchard before the war; yet the inhabitants would not be ſatisfied till they were ſent off; and Capt. *Church*, with his family, living then at the ſaid *Sanford*'s, came acquainted with them, who thought it very hard to turn off ſuch old quiet people: But in the end it proved a providence

dence and an advantage to him and his family, as you may ſee afterwards. This Indian woman knew Captain *Church*, and as ſoon as ſhe knew him, held up both her hands, and came running towards him, crying aloud, *Church, Church, Church.* Capt. *Church* bid her ſtop the reſt of the Indians, and tell them, *The way to ſave their lives was not to run, but yield themſelves priſoners, and he would not kill them*; ſo with her help and *Dillano*'s, who could call to them in their own language, many of them ſtopped and ſurrendered themſelves, others ſcampering and caſting away their baſkets, *&c.* betook themſelves to the thickets, but Captain *Church* being on horſe-back ſoon came up with them, and laid hold of a gun that was in the hand of one of the foremoſt of the company, pulled it from him, and told him he muſt go back. And when he had turned them, he began to look about him to ſee where he was, and what was become of his company, hoping they might be all as well employed as himſelf, but could find none but *Dillano*, who was very buſy gathering up priſoners. The Captain drove his that he had ſtopped to the reſt, inquiring of *Dillano* for their company, but could have no news of them; but moving back picked up now and then a ſkulking priſoner by the way. When they came near the place where they firſt ſtarted the Indians, they diſcovered their company ſtanding in a body together, and had taken ſome few priſoners; when they ſaw their Captain they haſtened to meet him: They told him they found it difficult getting through the ſwamp, and neither ſeeing nor hearing any thing of him, they concluded the enemy had killed him, and were at a great loſs what to do.

Having brought their priſoners together they found they had taken and killed 66 of the enemy. Captain *Church* then aſked the old ſquaw, *What company they belonged unto?* She ſaid, they belonged part to *Philip*, and part to *Qunnappin* and the *Narraganſet Sachem*, diſcovered

alſo, upon her declaration, that both *Philip* and *Qunappin* were about two miles off, in the great cedar ſwamp; he inquired of her, *What company they had with them?* She anſwered, *Abundance of Indians. The ſwamp*, ſhe ſaid, *was full of Indians from one end unto the other, that were ſettled there, that there were near an hundred men came from the ſwamp with them, and left them upon that plain to gather whortle-berries, and promiſed to call them as they came back out of* Sconticut-Neck; *whither they went to kill cattle and horſes for proviſions for the company.* She perceiving Captain *Church* move towards the neck, told him, *If they went that way they would all be killed.* He aſked her, *Where-about they croſſed the river?* She pointed to the upper paſſing place. Upon which Captain *Church* paſſed over ſo low down as he thought it not probable they ſhould meet with his track in their return; and haſtened towards the iſland, where he left *Little Eyes* with *Lightfoot*. Finding a convenient place by the river ſide for ſecuring his priſoners, Captain *Church*, and Mr. *Dillano* went down to ſee what was become of Captain *Lightfoot*, and the priſoners left in his charge. *Lightfoot* ſeeing and knowing them, ſoon came over with his broken canoe, and informed them, *That he had ſeen that day about* 100 *men of the enemy go down into* Sconticut Neck, *and that they were now returning again*: Upon which they three ran down immediately to a meadow where *Lightfoot* ſaid the Indians had paſſed, where they not only ſaw their tracks, but alſo them: Whereupon they lay cloſe until the enemy came into the ſaid meadow, and the foremoſt ſet down his load and halted, until all the company came up, and then took up their loads and marched again the ſame way that they came down into the neck, which was the neareſt way unto their camp; had they gone the other way along the river, they could not have miſſed Captain *Church*'s track, which would doubtleſs have expoſed them to the loſs of their priſoners, if not of their lives. But as ſoon as the

coaſt

coaſt was clear of them, the Captain ſends his *Lightfoot* to fetch his priſoners from the iſland, while he and Mr. *Dillano* returns to the company, ſent part of them to conduct *Lightfoot* and his company to the aforeſaid meadow, where Captain *Church* and his company met them. Croſſing the enemies track they made all haſte until they got over *Mattapoiſet-river*,* near about four miles beyond the ruins of *Cook*'s houſe, where he appointed to meet his Indian company, whither he ſent *Dillano* with two more to meet them; ordering them, that if the Indians were not arrived to wait for them. Accordingly, finding no Indians there, they waited until late in the night, when they arrived with their booty. They deſpatched a poſt to their Captain, to give him an account of their ſucceſs; but the day broke before they came to him; and when they had compared ſucceſſes, they very remarkably found that the number that each company had taken and ſlain, was equal. The Indians had killed three of the enemy, and taken 63 priſoners, as the *Engliſh* had done before them. Both *Engliſh* and Indians were ſurpriſed at this remarkable providence, and were both parties rejoicing at it; being both before afraid of what might have been the unequal ſucceſs of the parties; but the Indians had the fortune to take more arms than the *Engliſh*. They told the Captain, *That they had miſſed a brave opportunity by parting; they came upon a great town of the enemy*, viz. *Captain* Tyaſks *company*, (*Tyaſks* was the next man to *Philip*:) *They fired upon the enemy before they were diſcovered, and ran upon them with a ſhout; the men ran and left their wives and children, and many of them their guns. They took* Tyaſks *wife and ſon, and thought that if their Captain and the* Engliſh *company had been with them they might have taken ſome hundreds of them; and now they determined not to part any more.*

That Night *Philip* ſent (as afterwards they found out) a great army to waylay Captain *Church* at the entring on

* In *Rocheſter*.

of *Aſſawompſet* neck, expecting he would have returned the ſame way he went in; but that was never his method to return the ſame way that he came; and at this time going another way, he eſcaped falling into the hands of his enemies. The next day they went home by *Scipican*, and got well with their priſoners to *Plymouth*.

He ſoon went out again, and this ſtroke he drove many weeks; and when he took any number of priſoners, he would pick out ſome that he took a fancy to, and would tell them, *He took a particular fancy to them, and had choſe them for himſelf to make ſoldiers of; and if any would behave themſelves well, he would do well by them, and they ſhould be his men, and not ſold out of the country.* If he perceived they looked ſurly, and his Indian ſoldiers called them treacherous dogs, as ſome of them would ſometimes do, all the notice he would take of it, would only be to clap them on the back, and tell them, *Come, come, you look wild and ſurly, and mutter, but that ſignifies nothing, theſe my beſt ſoldiers were a little while ago as wild and ſurly as you are now; by that time you have been but one day along with me, you'll love me too, and be as briſk as any of them.* And it proved ſo; for there was none of them but (after they had been a little while with him, and ſeen his behaviour, and how cheerful and ſucceſsful his men were) would be as ready to pilot him to any place where the Indians dwelt, or haunted (though their own fathers or neareſt relations ſhould be among them) or to fight for him, as any of his own men.

Captain *Church* was in two particulars much advantaged by the great *Engliſh* army that was now abroad. One was, that they drove the enemy down to that part of the country, *viz.* to the eaſtward of *Taunton* river, by which his buſineſs was nearer home. The other was, that when he fell on with a puſh upon any body of the enemy (were they never ſo many) they fled, expecting the great army. And his manner of marching through the woods

was

was ſuch, as if he were diſcovered, they appeared to be more than they were; for he always marched at a wide diſtance one from another, partly for their ſafety: And this was an Indian cuſtom to march thin and ſcattered. Captain *Church* inquired of ſome of the Indians that were become his ſoldiers, *How they got ſuch advantage often of the* Engliſh *in their marches through the woods?* They told him, that the Indians gained great advantage of the *Engliſh* by two things; the Indians always took care in their marches and fights, not to come too thick together; but the *Engliſh* always kept in a heap together, that it was as eaſy to hit them as to hit an houſe. The other was, that if at any time they diſcovered a company of *Engliſh* ſoldiers in the woods, they knew that there was all, for the *Engliſh* never ſcattered; but the Indians always divided and ſcattered.

Captain *Church* now at *Plymouth*, ſomething or other happened that kept him at home a few days, until a poſt came to *Marſhfield* on the Lord's day morning, informing the Governor that a great army of Indians were diſcovered, who it was ſuppoſed were deſigning to get over the river towards *Taunton* or *Bridgwater*, to attack thoſe towns that lay on that ſide the river. The Governor haſtened to *Plymouth*, raiſed what men he could by the way, came to *Plymouth* in the beginning of the forenoon exerciſe; ſent for Captain *Church* out of the meeting-houſe, gave him the news, and deſired him immediately to rally what of his company he could; and what men he had raiſed ſhould join them. The Captain beſtirs himſelf, but found no bread in the ſtore-houſe, and ſo was forced to run from houſe to houſe to get houſhold bread for their march; but this nor any thing elſe prevented his marching by the beginning of the afternoon exerciſe: Marching with what men were ready, he took with him the poſt that came from *Bridgwater* to pilot him to the place, where he thought he might meet with the enemy.

In the evening they heard a ſmart firing at a diſtance from them; but it being near night, and the firing but of ſhort continuance, they miſſed the place, and went into *Bridgwater* town. It ſeems the occaſion of the firing was, that *Philip* finding that Captain *Church* made that ſide of the country too hot for him, deſigned to return to the other ſide of the country that he came laſt from. And coming to *Taunton* river with his company, they felled a great tree acroſs the river, for a bridge to paſs over on; and juſt as *Philip*'s old uncle *Akkompoin*, and ſome other of his chiefs were paſſing over the tree, ſome briſk *Bridgwater* lads had ambuſhed them, fired upon them, and killed the old man, and ſeveral others, which put a ſtop to their coming over the river that night.

Next morning Capt. *Church* moved very early with his company, which was increaſed by many of *Bridgwater*, that inliſted under him for that expedition, and, by their piloting, ſoon came very ſtill to the top of the great tree which the enemy had fallen acroſs the river; and the Captain ſpy'd an Indian ſitting on the ſtump of it on the other ſide of the river, and he clapp'd his gun up, and had doubtleſs deſpatched him, but that one of his own Indians called haſtily to him, not to fire, for he believed it was one of their own men; upon whith the Indian upon the ſtump look'd about, and Capt. *Church*'s Indian ſeeing his face perceived his miſtake, for he knew him to be *Philip*, clapp'd up his gun and fired, but it was too late, for *Philip* immediately threw himſelf off the ſtump, leap'd down a bank on the ſide of the river, and made his eſcape.—— Capt. *Church*, as ſoon as poſſible, got over the river, and ſcattered in queſt of *Philip* and his company; but the enemy ſcattered and fled every way; but he pick'd up a conſiderable many of their women and children, among which was *Philip*'s wife, and ſon of about nine years old. Diſcovering a conſiderable new track along the river, and examining the priſoners, found it was *Qunnappin* and the

Narragan-

Narraganſets, that were drawing off from thoſe parts towards the *Narraganſet* country; he inquired of the priſoners, *Whether* Philip *was gone in the ſame track?* They told him, *They did not know, for he fled in a great fright when the firſt* Engliſh *gun was fired, and they had none of them ſeen or heard any thing of him ſince.* Capt. *Church* left part of his company there to ſecure the priſoners they got, and to pick up what more they could find; and with the reſt of his company haſtened in the track of the enemy, to overtake them, if it might be, before they got over the river, and ran ſome miles along the river, until he came to a place where the Indians had waded over; and he with his company waded over after them up to the arm-pits; being almoſt as wet before with ſweat as the river could make them: Following about a mile further, and not overtaking them, and the Captain being under neceſſity to return that night to the army, came to an halt, told his company, *he muſt return to his other men.* His Indian ſoldiers moved for leave to purſue the enemy (though he return'd;) ſaid, *The* Narraganſets *were great rogues, and they wanted to be revenged on them for killing ſome of their relations*; named *Tockamona*, (*Awaſhonk*'s brother) and ſome others. Capt. *Church* bad them go and proſper, and made *Lightfoot* their chief, and gave him the title of Captain: *Bid them go and quit themſelves like men.* And away they ſcampered like ſo many horſes. Next morning early they returned to their Captain, and informed him, *That they had come up with the enemy, and kill'd ſeveral of them, and brought him thirteen of them priſoners*; were mighty proud of their exploit, and rejoiced much at the opportunity of avenging themſelves. Capt. *Church* ſent the priſoners to *Bridgwater*, and ſent out his ſcouts to ſee what enemies or tracks they could, diſcovering ſome ſmall tracks, he follows them, found where the enemy had kindled ſome fires, and roaſted ſome fleſh, &c. but had put out their fires and were gone. The Captain followed

them by the track, putting his Indians in the front; ſome of which were ſuch as he had newly taken from the enemy, and added to his company. Gave them orders to march ſoftly, and upon hearing a whiſtle in the rear, to ſit down, till further order: Or, upon diſcovery of any of the enemy, to ſtop, for his deſign was, if he could diſcover where the enemy were, not to fall upon them (unleſs neceſſitated to it) until next morning. The Indians in the front came up with many women and children, and others that were faint and tired, and ſo not able to keep up with the company; theſe gave them an account that *Philip*, with a great number of the enemy, were a little before.—Capt. *Church*'s Indians told the others, *They were their priſoners, but if they would ſubmit to order, and be ſtill, no one ſhould hurt them*: They being their old acquaintance, were eaſily perſuaded to conform. A little before ſunſet there was a halt in the front, until the Captain came up, they told him, *They diſcovered the enemy*. He ordered them to dog them, and watch their motion till it was dark. But *Philip* ſoon came to a ſtop, and fell to breaking and chopping wood, to make fires; and a great noiſe they made. Captain *Church* draws his company up in a ring, and ſat down in the ſwamp without any noiſe or fire. The Indian priſoners were much ſurpriſed to ſee the *Engliſh* ſoldiers; but the Captain told them, *If they would be quiet and not make any diſturbance or noiſe, they ſhould meet with civil treatment; but if they made any diſturbance, or offered to run, or make their eſcape, he would immediately kill them all*; ſo they were very ſubmiſſive and obſequious. When the day broke, Captain *Church* told his priſoners, *That his expedition was ſuch at this time that he could not afford them any guard*: Told them, *They would find it to be their intereſt to attend the orders he was now about to give them; which was, that when the fight was over, which they now expected, or as ſoon as the firing ceaſed, they muſt follow the track of his company, and come to them*. (An Indian is next

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to a blood-hound to follow a track.) He ſaid to them, *It would be in vain for them to think of diſobedience, or to gain any thing by it, for he had taken and killed a great many of the Indian rebels, and ſhould in a little time kill and take all the reſt*, &c. By this time it began to be ſo light, as the time that he uſually choſe to make his onſet. He moved, ſending two ſoldiers before, to try if they could privately diſcover the enemies poſtures. But very unhappily it fell out, that the very ſame time *Philip* had ſent two of his as a ſcout upon his own track, to ſee if none dog'd them; who ſpy'd the two Indian men, and turned ſhort about, and fled with all ſpeed to their camp, and Captain *Church* purſued as faſt as he could. The two Indians ſet a yelling and howling, and made the moſt hideous noiſe they could invent, ſoon gave the alarm to *Philip* and his camp; who all fled at the firſt tidings, left their kettles boiling, and meat roaſting upon their wooden ſpits, and ran into a ſwamp with no other breakfaſt than what Capt. *Church* afterwards treated them with. Captain *Church* purſuing, ſent Mr. *Iſaac Howland* with a party on one ſide of the ſwamp, while himſelf with the reſt ran on the other ſide, agreeing to run on each ſide, until they met on the further end, placing ſome men in ſecure ſtands at that end of the ſwamp where *Philip* entered, concluding that if they headed him and beat him back, that he would take back in his own track. Captain *Church* and Mr. *Howland* ſoon met at the further end of the ſwamp (it not being a great one) where they met with a great number of the enemy, well armed, coming out of the ſwamp; but, on ſight of the *Engliſh*, they ſeemed very much ſurpriſed and tack'd ſhort. Captain *Church* called haſtily to them, and ſaid, *If they fired one gun they were all dead men; for he would have them to know that he had them hem'd in, with a force ſufficient to command them; but if they peaceably ſurrendered they ſhould have good quarter*, &c. They ſeeing both Indians and *Engliſh* come ſo thick upon them, were

ſo

ſo ſurpriſed that many of them ſtood ſtill and let the *Engliſh* come and take the guns out of their hands, when they were both charged and cocked.

Many, both men, women and children of the enemy, were impriſoned at this time, while *Philip*, *Tiſpaquin*, *Totoſon*, &c. concluded that the *Engliſh* would purſue them upon their tracks, ſo were waylaying their tracks at the firſt end of the ſwamp, hoping thereby to gain a ſhot upon Captain *Church*, who was now better employed in taking priſoners, and running them into a valley, in form ſomething ſhaped like a punch-bowl, and appointing a guard of two files, treble armed with guns taken from the enemy. But *Philip* having waited all this while in vain, now moves on after the reſt of his company, to ſee what was become of them. And by this time Capt. *Church* was got into the ſwamp ready to meet him; and as it happened made the firſt diſcovery, clapp'd behind a tree until *Philip*'s company came pretty near, and then fired upon them, killed many of them, & a cloſe ſkirmiſh followed. Upon this *Philip* having grounds ſufficient to ſuſpect the event of his company that went before them, fled back upon his own track; and coming to the place where the ambuſh lay, they fired on each other, and one *Lucus*, of *Plymouth*, not being ſo careful as he might have been about his ſtand, was killed by the Indians. In this ſwamp-ſkirmiſh Captain *Church* with his two men, who always run by his ſide as his guard, met with three of the enemy, two of which ſurrendered themſelves, and the Captain's guard ſeized them; but the other, being a great, ſtout, ſurly fellow, with his two locks tied up with red, and a great rattle-ſnake ſkin hanging to the back part of his head, (whom Captain *Church* concluded to be *Totoſon*) ran from them into the ſwamp; Captain *Church*, in perſon, purſued him cloſe, till coming pretty near up with him, preſented his gun between his ſhoulders, but it miſſing fire, the Indian perceiving it, turned and preſented

ſented at Captain *Church*, and miſſing fire alſo (their guns taking wet with the fog and dew of the morning;) but the Indian turning ſhort for another run, his foot tripped in a ſmall grape-vine, and he fell flat on his face; Captain *Church* was by this time up with him, and ſtruck the muzzle of his gun an inch and an half into the back part of his head, which deſpatched him without another blow. But Captain *Church* looking behind him ſaw *Totoſon*, the Indian, whom he thought he had killed, come flying at him like a dragon; but this happened to be fair in ſight of the guard that were ſet to keep the priſoners, who, ſpying *Totoſon* and others that were following him, in the very ſeaſonable juncture made a ſhot upon them, and reſcued their Captain; tho' he was in no ſmall danger from his friends bullets, for ſome of them came ſo near him that he thought he felt the wind of them. The ſkirmiſh being over, they gathered their priſoners together, and found the number that they had killed and taken was 173, (the priſoners which they took over night included) who after the ſkirmiſh came to them, as they were ordered.

Now having no proviſions but what they took from the enemy, they haſtened to *Bridgwater*, ſending an expreſs before to provide for them, their company being now very numerous. The Gentlemen of *Bridgwater* met Capt. *Church* with great expreſſions of honour and thanks, and received him and his army with all due reſpect and kind treatment.

Capt. *Church* drove his priſoners that night into *Bridgwater* pound, and ſet his Indian ſoldiers to guard them. They being well treated with victuals and drink, they had a merry night; and the priſoners laughed as loud as the ſoldiers, not being ſo treated a long time before.

Some of the Indians now ſaid to Captain *Church*, *Sir, you have now made* Philip *ready to die, for you have made him as poor and miſerable as he uſed to make the* Engliſh; *for you have now killed or taken all his relations. That they believed*

believed he would now ſoon have his head, and that this bout had almoſt broke his heart.

The next day Captain *Church* moved and arrived with all his priſoners ſafe at *Plymouth*. The great *Engliſh* army was now at *Taunton*, and Major *Talcot*, with the *Connecticut* forces, being in theſe parts of the country, did conſiderable ſpoil upon the enemy.

Now Captain *Church* being arrived at *Plymouth*, received thanks from the government for his good ſervice, *&c.* many of his ſoldiers were diſbanded; and he tho't to reſt himſelf a while, being much fatigued, and his health impaired, by exceſſive heats and colds, and wading thro' rivers, *&c.* But it was not long before he was called upon to rally, upon advice that ſome of the enemy were diſcovered in *Dartmouth* woods. He took his Indians, and as many *Engliſh* volunteers as preſented, to go with him; and ſcattering into ſmall parcels, Mr. *Jabez Howland* (who was now, and often, his Lieutenant, and a worthy good ſoldier) had the fortune to diſcover and impriſon a parcel of the enemy. In the evening they met together at an appointed place, and by examining the priſoners, they gained intelligence of *Totoſon*'s haunt; and being briſk in the morning, they ſoon gained an advantage of *Totoſon*'s company, tho' he himſelf with his ſon of about eight years old made their eſcape, and one old ſquaw with them, to *Agawom*, his own country; but *Sam Barrow*, as noted a rogue as any among the enemy, fell into the hands of the *Engliſh* at this time. Capt. *Church* told him, *That becauſe of his inhuman murders and barbarities, the Court had allowed him no quarter, but was to be forthwith put to death, and therefore he was to prepare for it.* *Barrow* replied, *That the ſentence of death againſt him was juſt, and that indeed he was aſhamed to live any longer, and deſired no more favour than to ſmoke a whiff of tobacco before his execution.* When he had taken a few whiffs, he ſaid, *He was ready*; upon which one of Capt. *Church*'s

Church's Indians ſunk his hatchet into his brains. The famous *Totoſon* arriving at *Agawom*,* his ſon, which was the laſt that was left of the family, (Captain *Church* having deſtroyed all the reſt) fell ſick: The wretch reflecting upon the miſerable condition he had brought himſelf into, his heart became a ſtone within him, and died. The old ſquaw flung a few leaves and bruſh over him, and came into *Sandwich*, and gave this account of his death, and offered to ſhew them where ſhe left his body; but never had the opportunity, for ſhe immediately fell ſick and died alſo.

Captain *Church* being now at *Plymouth* again, weary and worn, would have gone home to his wife and family, but the Government being ſolicitous to engage him in the ſervice until *Philip* was ſlain, and promiſing him ſatisfaction and redreſs for ſome miſtreatmen that he had met with; he fixes for another expedition: He had ſoon volunteers enough to make up the company he deſired, and marched thro' the woods, until he came to *Pocaſſet*; and not ſeeing or hearing of any of the enemy, they went over the ferry to *Rhode-Iſland*, to refreſh themſelves. The Capt. with about half a dozen in his company, took horſe and rid about eight miles down the iſland, to Mr. *Sandford*'s, where he had left his wife; who no ſooner ſaw him but fainted with ſurpriſe; and by that time ſhe was a little revived, they ſpied two horſemen coming a great pace. Captain *Church* told his company that thoſe men (by their riding) came with tidings. When they came up they proved to be Major *Sandford*, and Captain *Golding*; who immediately aſked Captain *Church*, *what he would give to hear ſome news of* Philip? He reply'd, *That was what he wanted.* They told him, *They had rid hard with ſome hopes of overtaking him, and were now come on purpoſe to inform him, that there was juſt now tidings from* Mount-

* Several places were called *Agawom*; as at *Ipſwich*, & *Springfield*: This *Agawom* lies in *Wareham*.

Mount-Hope; *an Indian came down from thence (where* Philip's *camp now was) on to* Sand-point, *over againſt* Trip's, *and halloo'd, and made ſigns to be fetched over; and being fetched over, he reported, That he was fled from* Philip, *who* (ſaid he) *has killed my brother juſt before I came away, for giving ſome advice that diſpleaſed him.* And ſaid, *he was fled for fear of meeting with the ſame his brother had met with*: Told them alſo, *That* Philip *was now in* Mount-Hope *neck.* Captain *Church* thanked them for their good news, and ſaid, he hoped by to-morrow morning to have the rogue's head. The horſes that he and his company came on ſtanding at the door, (for they had not been unſaddled) his wife muſt content herſelf with a ſhort viſit, when ſuch game was ahead; they immediately mounted, ſet ſpurs to their horſes, and away.

The two Gentlemen that brought him the tidings, told him, *They would gladly wait upon him to ſee the event of the expedition*; he thanked them, and told them, he ſhould be as fond of their company as any men's; and (in ſhort) they went with him. And they were ſoon at *Trip*'s ferry (with Capt. *Church*'s company) where the deſerter was; who was a fellow of good ſenſe, and told his ſtory handſomely. He offered Captain *Church* to pilot him to *Philip*, and to help to kill him, that he might revenge his brother's death. Told him, that *Philip* was now upon a little ſpot of upland, that was in the ſouth end of the miry ſwamp, juſt at the foot of the Mount, which was a ſpot of ground that Captain *Church* was well acquainted with. By that time they were got over the ferry, and came near the ground half the night was ſpent. The Captain commands a halt, and bringing the company together, he aſked Major *Sandford*'s and Captain *Golding*'s advice, what method was beſt to take in making the onſet, but they declined giving him any advice, telling him, *That his great experience and ſucceſs forbid their taking upon them to give advice.* Then Captain *Church* offered Captain *Golding* that he

he ſhould have the honour (if he would pleaſe to accept of it) to beat up *Philip*'s head quarters. He accepted the offer, and had his allotted number drawn out to him, and the pilot. Captain *Church*'s inſtructions to him were to be very careful in his approach to the enemy, and be ſure not to ſhew himſelf until by day light they might ſee and diſcern their own men from the enemy; told him alſo, that his cuſtom in the like caſes was, to creep with his company, on their bellies, until they came as near as they could; and that as ſoon as the enemy diſcovered them they would cry out; and that was the word for his men to fire and fall on. Directed him when the enemy ſhould ſtart, and take into the ſwamp, they ſhould purſue with ſpeed, every man ſhouting and making what noiſe they could; for he would give orders to his ambuſcade to fire on any that ſhould come ſilently.

Chaptain *Church* knowing that it was *Philip*'s cuſtom to be foremoſt in the flight, went down to the ſwamp, and gave Capt. *William*'s of *Scituate* the command of the right wing of the ambuſh, and placed an *Engliſhman* and an Indian together behind ſuch ſhelters of trees, *&c.* that he could find, and took care to place them at ſuch diſtance that none might paſs undiſcovered between them, charged them to be careful of themſelves, and of hurting their friends, and to fire at any that ſhould come ſilently thro' the ſwamp; but being ſomewhat further thro' the ſwamp than he was aware of, he wanted men to make up his ambuſcade. Having placed what men he had, he took Major *Sandford* by the hand, ſaid, *Sir, I have ſo placed them that it is ſcarce poſſible* Philip *ſhould eſcape them.* The ſame moment a ſhot whiſtled over their heads, and then the noiſe of a gun towards *Philip*'s camp. Captain *Church* at firſt thought it might be ſome gun fired by accident; but before he could ſpeak, a whole volley followed, which was earlier than he expected. One of *Philip*'s gang going forth to eaſe himſelf, when he had done, looked round him,

him, and Captain *Golding* tho't the Indian looked right at him, (though probably it was but his conceit) ſo fired at him, and upon his firing, the whole company that were with him fired upon the enemies ſhelter, before the Indians had time to riſe from their ſleep, and ſo overſhot them. But their ſhelter was open on that ſide next the ſwamp, built ſo on purpoſe for the convenience of flight on occaſion. They were ſoon in the ſwamp, and *Philip* the foremoſt, who ſtarting at the firſt gun, threw his petunk and powder-horn over his head, catch'd up his gun, and ran as faſt as he could ſcamper, without any more clothes than his ſmall breeches and ſtockings, and ran directly on two of Capt. *Church*'s ambuſh; they let him come fair within ſhot, and the Engliſhman's gun miſſing fire, he bid the Indian fire away, and he did ſo to purpoſe, ſent one muſket bullet through his heart, and another not above two inches from it; he fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him. By this time the enemy perceived they were waylaid on the eaſt ſide of the ſwamp, tack'd ſhort about. One of the enemy, who ſeem'd to be a great ſurly old fellow, halloo'd with a loud voice, and often called out, *Iootaſh*, *Iootaſh*, Capt. *Church* called to his Indian *Peter*, and aſk'd him, *Who that was that call'd ſo?* He anſwered, It was old *Annawon*, *Philip*'s great Captain, calling on his ſoldiers to ſtand to it, & fight ſtoutly. Now the enemy finding that place of the ſwamp which was not ambuſh'd, many of them made their eſcape in the *Engliſh* tracks. The man that had ſhot down *Philip*, ran with all ſpeed to Capt. *Church*, and inform'd him of his exploit, who commanded him to be ſilent about it, and let no man more know it, until they had drove the ſwamp clean; but when they had drove the ſwamp thro', and found the enemy had eſcaped, or at leaſt the moſt of them, and the ſun now up, and ſo the dew gone, that they could not eaſily track them, the whole company met together at the place where the enemies night ſhelter was; and then

then Captain *Church* gave them the news of *Philip*'s death; upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas. Captain *Church* ordered his body to be pulled out of the mire on to the upland, ſo ſome of Captain *Church*'s Indians took hold of him by his ſtockings, and ſome by his ſmall breeches, (being otherwiſe naked) and drew him thro' the mud to the upland; and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beaſt he looked like. Captain *Church* then ſaid, *That foraſmuch as he had cauſed many an* Engliſhman's *body to be unburied, and to rot above ground, that not one of his bones ſhould be buried.* And calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him; accordingly he came with his hatchet and ſtood over him, but before he ſtruck he made a ſmall ſpeech, directing it to *Philip*, and ſaid, *He had been a very great man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but ſo big as he was he would now chop his arſe for him*; and ſo he went to work, and did as he was ordered. *Philip* having one very remarkable hand, being much ſcarred, occaſioned by the ſplitting of a piſtol in it formerly; Captain *Church* gave the head and that hand to *Alderman*, the Indian who ſhot him, to ſhew to ſuch Gentlemen as would beſtow gratuities upon him; and accordingly he got many a penny by it.

This being on the laſt day of the week, the Capt. with his company returned to the iſland, tarried there until Tueſday; and then went off and ranged thro' all the woods to *Plymouth*, and received their *Premium*, which was *Thirty Shillings per* head, for the enemies which they had killed or taken, inſtead of all wages; and *Philip*'s head went at the ſame price. Methinks it is ſcanty reward and poor encouragement; tho' it was better than what had been ſome time before. For this march they received *Four Shillings* and *Six Pence* a man, which was all the reward they had, except the honor of killing *Philip*. This was in the latter end of *Auguſt*, 1676.

Captain *Church* had been but a little while at *Plymouth*, before a poſt from *Rehoboth* came to inform the government, that old *Annawon*, *Philip*'s chief Captain was with his company ranging about their woods, and was very offenſive and pernicious to *Rehoboth* and *Swanſey*. Capt. *Church* was immediately ſent for again, and treated with to engage in one expedition more; he told them, *Their encouragement was ſo poor, he feared his ſoldiers would be dull about going again*; but being a hearty friend to the cauſe, he rallies again, goes to Mr. *Jabez Howland*, his old Lieutenant, and ſome of his ſoldiers that uſed to go out with him; told them how the caſe was circumſtanced, and that he had intelligence of old *Annawon*'s walk and haunt, and wanted hands to hunt him; they did not want much entreating, but told him, *They would go with him, as long as there was an Indian left in the woods.* He moved and ranged thro' the woods to *Pocaſſet*.

It being the latter end of the week, he propoſed to go on to *Rhode-Iſland*, and reſt until Monday; but on the Lord's day morning, there came a poſt to inform the Captain, that early the ſame morning a canoe with ſeveral Indians in it paſſed from *Prudence-Iſland* to *Poppaſquaſh* neck.* Captain *Church* thought if he could poſſibly ſurpriſe them, he might probably gain ſome intelligence of more game; therefore he made all poſſible ſpeed after them. The ferry-boat being out of the way, he made uſe of canoes; but by that time they had made two freights, and had got over the Captain, and about 15 or 16 of his Indians, the wind ſprung up with ſuch violence that canoes could no more paſs. The Captain ſeeing it was impoſſible for any more of his ſoldiers to come to him, he told his Indians, *If they were willing to go with him, he would go to* Poppaſquaſh, *and ſee if they could catch ſome of the enemy Indians.* They were willing to go, but were ſorry they had no *Engliſh* ſoldiers; ſo they marched thro' the

* On the weſt-ſide of *Briſtol*.

the thickets that they might not be diſcovered, until they came unto the ſalt meadow, to the northward of *Briſtol* town, that now is. Then they heard a gun, the Captain looked about, not knowing but it might be ſome of his own company in the rear; ſo halting till they all came up, he found it was none of his own company that fired. Now tho' he had but a few men, was minded to ſend ſome of them out on a ſcout. He moved it to Captain *Lightfoot* to go with three more on a ſcout; he ſaid he was willing, provided the Captain's man *Nathaniel* (which was an Indian they had lately taken) might be one of them, becauſe he was well acquainted with the neck, and coming lately from among them, knew how to call them. The Captain bid him chooſe his three companions, and go; and if they came acroſs any of the enemy, not to kill them if they could poſſibly take them alive; that they might gain intelligence concerning *Annawon*. The Capt. with the reſt of his company moved but a little way further toward *Poppaſquaſh*, before they heard another gun, which ſeemed to be the ſame way with the other, but further off; but they made no halt until they came unto the narrow of *Poppaſquaſh* neck; where Capt. *Church* left three men more, to watch if any ſhould come out of the neck, and to inform the ſcout when they returned which way he was gone.

He parted the remainder of his company, half on one ſide of the neck, and the other with himſelf went on the other ſide of the neck, until they met; and meeting neither with Indians nor canoes, returned big with expectations of tidings by their ſcout; but when they came back to the three men at the narrow of the neck, they told their Captain the ſcout was not returned, had heard nor ſeen any thing of them: This filled them with thoughts of what ſhould become of them; by that time they had ſat and waited an hour longer, it was very dark, and they deſpaired of their returning to them. Some of the In-

dians told their Captain, *They feared his new man* Nathaniel *had met with his old* Mount-Hope *friends, and was turned rogue.* They concluded to make no fires that night, (and indeed they had no great need of any) for they had no victuals to cook, had not ſo much as a morſel of bread with them.

They took up their lodging ſcattering, that if poſſibly their ſcout ſhould come in the night, and whiſtle (which was their ſign) ſome or other of them might hear them. They had a very ſolitary, hungry night; and as ſoon as the day broke they drew off thro' the bruſh to a hill without the neck, and looking about them they eſpied one Indian man come running ſomewhat towards them; the Captain ordered one man to ſtep out and ſhew himſelf. Upon this the Indian ran right to him, and who ſhould it be but Capt. *Lightfoot*, to their great joy. Capt. *Church* aſked him, *What news?* He anſwered, *Good news, they were all well, and had catched ten Indians, and that they guarded them all night in one of the flankers of the old* Engliſh *garriſon; that their priſoners were part of* Annawon's *company, and that they had left their families in a ſwamp above* Mattapoiſet Neck.* And as they were marching towards the old garriſon, *Lightfoot* gave Capt. *Church* a particular account of their exploit, *viz. That preſently after they left him, they heard another gun, which ſeemed towards the Indian burying place, and moving that way, they diſcovered two of the enemy fleeing of an horſe. The ſcout clapping into the bruſh,* Nathaniel *bid them ſit down, and he would preſently call all the Indians thereabout unto him. They hid, and he went a little diſtance back from them, and ſet up his note, and howled like a wolfe. One of the two immediately left his horſe and came running to ſee who was there; but* Nathaniel *howling lower and lower drew him in between thoſe that lay in wait for him, who ſeized him;* Nathaniel *continuing the ſame note, the other left the horſe alſo, following*

* In *Swanzey*. There is another *Mattapoiſet* in *Rocheſter*.

lowing his mate, and met with the ſame. When they caught theſe two they examined them apart, and found them to agree in their ſtory, that there were eight more of them come down into the neck to get proviſions, and had agreed to meet at the burying place that evening. Theſe two being ſome of Nathaniel's *old acquaintance, he had great influence upon them, and with his enticing ſtory, (telling what a brave Captain he had, how bravely he lived ſince he had been with him, and how much they might better their condition by turning to him, &c.) perſuaded and engaged them to be on his ſide, which indeed now began to be the better ſide of the hedge. They waited but a little while before they eſpied the reſt of theirs coming up to the burying place, and* Nathaniel *ſoon bowled them in as he had done their mates before.*

When Capt. *Church* came to the garriſon, he met his Lieutenant and the reſt of his company; and then making up good fires they fell to roaſting their horſe-beef, enough to laſt them the whole day, but had not a morſel of bread; tho' ſalt they had, which they always carried in their pockets, which, at this time was very acceptable to them. Their next motion was towards the place where the priſoners told them they had left their women and children, and ſurpriſed them all, and ſome others that were newly come to them. And upon examination they held to one ſtory, that it was hard to tell where to find *Annawon*, for he never rooſted twice in a place. Now a certain Indian ſoldier that Captain *Church* had gained over to be on his ſide, prayed that he might have liberty to go and fetch in his father, who, he ſaid, was about four miles from that place, in a ſwamp, with no other than a young ſquaw. Capt. *Church* inclined to go with him, thinking it might be in his way to gain ſome intelligence of *Annawon*; and ſo taking one *Engliſhman* and a few Indians with him, leaving the reſt there, he went with his new ſoldier to look his father. When he came to the ſwamp he bid the Indian go to ſee if he could find his father; he was no-

ſooner gone but Captain *Church* diſcovered a track coming down out of the woods, upon which he and his little company lay cloſe, ſome on one ſide of the track, and ſome on the other. They heard the Indian ſoldier make a howling for his father; and at length ſome body anſwered him, but while they were liſtening, they thought they heard ſomebody coming towards them, preſently ſaw an old man coming up with a gun on his ſhoulder, and a young woman following, in the track which they lay by: They let them come up between them, and then ſtarted up and laid hold of them both. Captain *Church* immediately examined them apart, telling them, *What they muſt truſt too if they told falſe ſtories:* He aſked the young woman, *What company they came from laſt?* She ſaid, *From Capt.* Annawon's. He aſked her, *How many were in company with him when ſhe left him?* She ſaid 50 or 60. He aſked her, *How many miles it was to the place where ſhe left him?* She ſaid, *She did not underſtand miles, but he was up in* Squannaconk *Swamp.** The old man who had been one of *Philip*'s council, upon examination, gave exactly the ſame account. Captain *Church* aſked him, *If they could get there that night?* He ſaid, *If they went preſently, and travelled ſtoutly, they might get there by ſunſet.* He aſked, *Whither he was going?* He anſwered, *That* Annawon *had ſent him down to look for ſome Indians, that were gone down into* Mount-Hope *neck to kill proviſions.* Capt. *Church* let him know that thoſe Indians were all his priſoners. By this time came the Indian ſoldier and brought his father and one Indian more. The Capt. was now in great ſtraight of mind what to do next, he had a mind to give *Annawon* a viſit, now he knew where to find him; but his company was very ſmall, but half a dozen men beſide himſelf, and was under a neceſſity to ſend ſomebody back to acquaint his Lieutenant and company with his proceedings. However, he aſked his ſmall

* Southeaſterly part of *Rehoboth*.

ſmall company that were with him, *Whether they would willingly go with him, and give* Annawon *a viſit?* They told him, *They were always ready to obey his commands,* &c. but withal told him, *That they knew this Capt.* Annawon *was a great ſoldier; that he had been a valiant Captain under* Aſſuhmequin, Philip's *father, and that he had been* Philip's *chieftan all this war; a very ſubtle man, and of great reſolution, and had often ſaid, that he would never be taken alive by the* Engliſh; *and moreover they knew that the men that were with him were reſolute fellows, ſome of* Philip's *chief ſoldiers; and therefore feared whether it was practicable to make an attempt upon him with ſo ſmall a handful of aſſiſtants as were now with him:* Told him further, *That it would be a pity that after all the great things he had done, he ſhould throw away his life at laſt.* Upon which he replied, That he doubted not *Annawon* was a ſubtle & valiant man: That he had a long time but in vain ſought for him, and never till now could find his quarters; and he was very loath to miſs of the opportunity; and doubted not but that if they would cheerfully go with him, the ſame Almighty Providence that had hitherto protected and befriended them would do ſo ſtill, *&c.* Upon this with one conſent they ſaid, *They would go.* Captain *Church* then turned to one *Cook* of *Plymouth,* (the only *Engliſhman* then with him) and aſked him, *What he thought of it?* Who replied, *Sir, I am never afraid of going any where when you are with me.* Then Capt. *Church* aſked the old Indian, if he could carry his horſe with him? (For he conveyed a horſe thus far with him:) He replied, that it was impoſſible for an horſe to paſs the ſwamps: Therefore he ſent away his new Indian ſoldier with his father and the Captain's horſe to his Lieutenant, and orders for him to move to *Taunton* with the priſoners, to ſecure them there, and to come out in the morning in the *Rehoboth* road, in which he might expect to meet him, if he were alive and had ſucceſs.

The Captain then aſked the old fellow, if he would pilot him unto *Annawon?* He anſwered, that he having given him his life, he was obliged to ſerve him. He bid him move on then, and they followed. The old man would out-travel them ſo far ſometimes that they were almoſt out of ſight; looking over his ſhoulder, and ſeeing them behind, he would halt. Juſt as the ſun was ſetting, the old man made a full ſtop and ſat down, the company coming up alſo ſat down, being all weary. Capt. *Church* aſked, *What news?* He anſwered, that about that time in the evening Capt. *Annawon* ſent out his ſcouts to ſee if the coaſt was clear, and as ſoon as it began to grow dark the ſcouts returned. And then (ſaid he) we may move again ſecurely. When it began to grow dark the old man ſtood up again, Capt. *Church* aſked him, if he would take a gun and fight for him? He bowed very low and prayed him not to impoſe ſuch a thing upon him, as to fight againſt Capt. *Annawon* his old friend. But ſays he, I will go along with you, and be helpful to you, and will lay hands on any man that ſhall offer to hurt you. It being now pretty dark they moved cloſe together; anon they heard a noiſe; the Captain ſtayed the old man with his hand, and aſked his own men what noiſe they thought it might be? They concluded it to be the pounding of a mortar. The old man had given Captain *Church* a deſcription of the place where *Annawon* now lay, and of the difficulty of getting at him. Being ſenſible that they were pretty near them, with two of his Indians he creeps to the edge of the rocks, from whence he could ſee their camps: He ſaw three companies of Indians at a little diſtance from each other, being eaſy to be diſcovered by the light of their fires. He ſaw alſo the great *Annawon* and his company, who had formed his camp or kennelling-place, by falling a tree under the ſide of the great clefts of rocks, and ſetting a row of birch buſhes up againſt it, where he himſelf, his ſon, and ſome of his chiefs had taken

up

up their lodging, and made great fires without them, and had their pots and kettles boiling, and ſpits roaſting; their arms alſo he diſcovered, all ſet together in a place fitted for the purpoſe, ſtanding up an end againſt a ſtick lodged in two crotches, and a mat placed over them, to keep them from the wet or dew. The old *Annawon*'s feet and his ſon's head were ſo near the arms as almoſt to touch them; but the rocks were ſo ſteep that it was impoſſible to get down, but as they lowered themſelves by the bows, and the buſhes that grew in the cracks of the rocks. Capt. *Church* creeping back again to the old man, aſked him, if there was no poſſibility of getting at them ſome other way? He anſwered, no: That he and all that belonged to *Annawon*, were ordered to come that way, and none could come any other way without difficulty or danger of being ſhot.

Capt. *Church* then ordered the old man and his daughter to go down foremoſt, with their baſkets at their backs, that when *Annowon* ſaw them with their baſkets he ſhould not miſtruſt the intrigue. Capt. *Church* and his handful of ſoldiers crept down alſo under the ſhadow of theſe two and their baſkets, and the Capt. himſelf crept cloſe behind the old man, with his hatchet in his hand, and ſtep'd over the young man's head to the arms; the young *Annawon* diſcovering of him, whip'd his blanket over his head and ſhrunk up in a heap: The old Capt. *Annawon* ſtarted up on his breech, and cry'd out *Howoh*, and deſpairing of eſcape, threw himſelf back again, and lay ſilent until Capt. *Church* had ſecured all the arms, *&c.* And having ſecured that company, he ſent his Indian ſoldiers to the other fires and companies, giving them inſtructions, what to do and ſay. Accordingly, they went into the midſt of them: When they diſcovered themſelves who they were, told them that their Captain *Annawon* was taken, and it would be beſt for them quietly and peaceably to ſurrender themſelves, which would procure good

quarter

quarter for them: Otherwiſe, if they ſhould pretend to reſiſt or make their eſcape, it would be in vain, and they could expect no other but that Capt. *Church* with his great army, who had now entrap'd them, would cut them to pieces; told them alſo if they would ſubmit themſelves, and deliver up all their arms unto them, and keep every man his place until it was day; they would aſſure them that their Captain *Church*, who had been ſo kind to themſelves when they ſurrendered to him, ſhould be as kind unto them. Now they being old acquaintance, and many of them relations did much the readier give heed to what they ſaid, complied and ſurrendered up their arms unto them, both their guns and hatchets, *&c.* and were forthwith carried to Captain *Church*.

Things being ſo far ſettled, Capt. *Church* aſked *Annawon*, What he had for ſupper? For (ſaid he) I am come to ſup with you. *Taubut* (ſaid *Annawon*) with a big voice; and looking about upon his women, bid them haſten and get Captain *Church* and his company ſome ſupper; then turned to Captain *Church* and aſked him, Whether he would eat cow-beef or horſe-beef; the Capt. told him cow-beef would be moſt acceptable. It was ſoon got ready, and pulling his little bag of ſalt out of his pocket, which was all the proviſion he bro't with him; this ſeaſon'd his cow-beef ſo that with it and the dried green corn, which the old ſquaw was pounding in the mortar, while they were ſliding down the rocks, he made a very hearty ſupper. And this pounding in the mortar proved lucky for Capt. *Church*'s getting down the rocks; for when the old ſquaw pounded, they moved, and when ſhe ceaſed, to turn the corn, they ceaſed creeping, the noiſe of the mortar prevented the enemies hearing their creeping, and the corn being now dreſſed ſupplied the want of bread, and gave a fine reliſh with the cow-beef. Supper being over, Captain *Church* ſent two of his men to inform the other companies, that he had killed *Philip*, and had taken

their

their friends in *Mount-Hope* neck, but had ſpared their lives, and that he had ſubdued now all the enemy (he ſuppoſed) excepting this company of *Annawon*'s, and now if they would be orderly and keep their places until morning, they ſhould have good quarter, and that he would carry them to *Taunton*, where they might ſee their friends again, *&c.*

The meſſengers return'd, that the Indians yielded to his propoſals. Captain *Church* tho't it was now time for him to take a nap, having had no ſleep in two days and one night before; told his men that if they would let him ſleep two hours, they ſhould ſleep all the reſt of the night. He laid himſelf down and endeavoured to ſleep, but all diſpoſition to ſleep departed from him. After he had lain a little while he looked up to ſee how his watch managed, but found them all faſt aſleep. Now Captain *Church* had told Capt. *Annawon*'s company, as he had ordered his Indians to tell the others, that their lives ſhould all be ſpared, excepting Capt. *Annawon*'s, and it was not in his power to promiſe him his life, but he muſt carry him to his maſters at *Plymouth*, and he would entreat them for his life. Now when Capt. *Church* found not only his own men, but all the Indians faſt aſleep, *Annawon* only excepted, whom he perceived was as broad awake as himſelf; and ſo they lay looking one upon the other perhaps an hour. Captain *Church* ſaid nothing to him, for he could not ſpeak Indian, and tho't *Annawon* could not ſpeak *Engliſh*; at length *Annawon* raiſed himſelf up, caſt off his blanket, and with no more clothes than his ſmall breeches, walked a little way back from the company; Captain *Church* tho't no other but that he had occaſion to eaſe himſelf, and ſo walked to ſome diſtance rather than offend him with the ſtink: But by and by he was gone out of ſight and hearing, and then Captain *Church* began to ſuſpect ſome ill deſign in him, and got all the guns cloſe to him, and crouded himſelf cloſe under young *Annawon*, that

that if he ſhould any where get a gun he ſhould not make a ſhot at him without endangering his ſon; lying very ſtill a while, waiting for the event; at length, he heard ſome body coming the ſame way that *Annawon* went. The moon now ſhining bright, he ſaw him at a diſtance coming with ſomething in his hands, and coming up to Captain *Church*, he fell upon his knees before him, and offered him what he had brought, & ſpeaking in plain *Engliſh*, ſaid, *Great Captain, you have killed* Philip, *and conquered his country; for I believe that I and my company are the laſt that war againſt the* Engliſh, *ſo ſuppoſe the war is ended by your means; and therefore theſe things belong unto you.* Then opening his pack, he pulled out *Philip*'s belt curiouſly wrought with *wompom*, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white *wompom*, in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beaſts. This, when hung upon Capt. *Church*'s ſhoulders, reached his ancles; and another belt of *wompom* he preſented him with, wrought after the former manner, which *Philip* was wont to put upon his head; it had two flags on the back part, which hung down on his back, and another ſmall belt with a ſtar upon the end of it, which he uſed to hang on his breaſt; and they were all edged with red hair, which *Annawon* ſaid they got in the *Mohog*'s country. Then he pulled out two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket. He told Captain *Church* theſe were *Philip*'s royalties, which he was wont to adorn himſelf with when he ſat in ſtate. That he tho't himſelf happy that he had an opportunity to preſent them to Capt. *Church*, who had won them, *&c.* ſpent the remainder of the night in diſcourſe; and gave an account of what mighty ſucceſs he had formerly in wars againſt many nations of Indians, when he ſerved *Aſhumequin*, *Philip*'s father, *&c.* In the morning, as ſoon as it was light, the Captain marched with his priſoners out of that ſwampy country towards *Taunton*, met his Lieutenant and company about four miles

miles out of town, who expreſſed a great deal of joy to ſee him again, and ſaid, it was more than ever he expected. They went into *Taunton*, were civilly and kindly treated by the inhabitants, refreſhed and reſted themſelves that night. Early next morning, the Captain took old *Annawon*, and half a dozen of his Indian ſoldiers, and his own man, and went to *Rhode-Iſland*, ſending the reſt of his company and his priſoners by his Lieutenant to *Plymouth*. Tarrying two or three days upon the iſland, he then went to *Plymouth*, and carried his wife and his two children with him.

Capt. *Church* had been but a little while at *Plymouth*, when he was informed of a parcel of Indians who had haunted the woods between *Plymouth* and *Sippican*, that did great damage to the *Engliſh*, in killing their cattle, horſes, and ſwine; the Capt. was ſoon in purſuit of them: Went out from *Plymouth* the next Monday in the afternoon; next morning early they diſcover'd a track; the Capt. ſent two Indians on the track to ſee what they could diſcover, whilſt he and his company followed gently after, but the two Indians ſoon returned with tidings that they diſcovered the enemy ſitting round their fires, in a thick place of bruſh. When they came pretty near the place, the Captain ordered every man to creep as he did; and ſurround them by creeping as near as they could, till they ſhould be diſcovered, & then to run on upon them & take them alive, if poſſible, (for their priſoners were their pay:) They did ſo, took every one that was at the fires, not one eſcaping. Upon examination they agreed in their ſtory, that they belonged to *Tiſpaquin*, who was gone with *John Bump*, & one more, to *Agawom** & *Sippican*,† to kill horſes, and were not expected back in two or three days.

This ſame *Tiſpaquin* had been a great Captain, and the Indians reported that he was ſuch a great *Pauwau*, that no bullet could enter him, &c. Capt. *Church* ſaid, He would not have him killed, for there was a war broke out

* *Wareham.* † *Rocheſter.*

in

in the eaſtern part of the country, and he would have him ſaved to go with him to fight the eaſtern Indians. Agreeably he left two old Squaws, of the priſoners, and bid them tarry there until their Capt. *Tiſpaquin* returned, and to tell him, that *Church* had been there, and had taken his wife and children, and company, and carried them down to *Plymouth*; and would ſpare all their lives, and his too, if he would come down to them, and bring the other two that were with him, and they ſhould be his ſoldiers, &c. Capt. *Church* then returned to *Plymouth*, leaving the old Squaws well provided for, and biſket for *Tiſpaquin* when he returned: Telling his ſoldiers that he doubted not but he had laid a trap that would take him. Capt. *Church*, two days after, went to *Boſton*, (the Commiſſioners then ſitting) and waited upon the honorable Governor *Leverett*, who then lay ſick; who requeſted Capt. *Church* to give him ſome account of the war; who readily obliged his honor therein, to his great ſatisfaction, as he was pleaſed ſo expreſs himſelf; taking him by the hand, and telling him, if it pleaſed God he lived, he would make it a brace of a hundred pounds advantage to him out of the *Maſſachuſetts* colony, and would endeavour that the reſt of the colonies ſhould do proportionably; but he died within a fortnight after, and ſo nothing was done of that nature.—The ſame day *Tiſpaquin* came in, and thoſe that were with him; but when Capt. *Church* return'd from *Boſton*, he found, to his grief, the heads of *Annawon*, *Tiſpaquin*, &c. cut off, which were the laſt of *Philip*'s friends. The General Court of *Plymouth*, then ſitting, ſent for Captain *Church*, who waited upon them accordingly, and received their thanks for his good ſervice, which they unanimouſly voted, which was all that Capt. *Church* had for his aforeſaid ſervice.

Afterwards, in the year 1676, in the month of *January*, Capt. *Church* received a commiſſion from Governor *Winſlow*, to ſcour the woods of ſome of the lurking enemy, which

which they were well informed were there. Which Commiſſion is as follows :

BEING well informed that there are certain parties of our Indian enemies (remains of the people or allies of Philip, *late Sachem of* Mount-Hope, *our mortal enemy) that are ſtill lurking in the woods, near ſome of our Plantations, that go on to diſturb the peace of his Majeſty's ſubjects in this and the neighbouring colonies, by their frequent robberies, and other inſolences : Captain* Benjamin Church *is therefore hereby nominated, ordered, commiſſioned, and empowered to raiſe a company of volunteers, conſiſting of* Engliſh *and* Indians, *ſo many as he ſhall judge neceſſary to improve in the preſent expedition, and can obtain : And of them to take the command and conduct, and to lead them forth unto ſuch place or places, within this or the neighbouring colonies, as he ſhall think fit, and as the providence of God, and his intelligence, may lead him ; to diſcover, purſue, fight, ſurpriſe, deſtroy, and ſubdue our ſaid Indian enemy, or any party or parties of them, that, by the providence of God, they may meet with : Or them, or any of them, to receive to mercy, if he ſee cauſe ; (provided they be not murderous rogues, or ſuch as have been principal actors in thoſe villanies.) And, for the proſecution of this deſign, liberty is hereby granted to the ſaid Capt.* Church, *and others, to arm and ſet out ſuch of our friendly Indians as he is willing to entertain.— And foraſmuch as all theſe our enemies that have been taken, or at any time may be taken by our forces, have, by our courts and councils, been rendered lawful captives of war, and condemned to perpetual ſervitude ; this council do alſo determine, and hereby declare, That all ſuch priſoners as, by the bleſſing of God, the ſaid Captain and company, or any of them, ſhall take, together with their arms and other plunder, ſhall be their own, and to be diſtributed amongſt themſelves, according to ſuch agreement as they may be at one with another :*

And

And it ſhall be lawful, and is hereby warrantable, for him and them to make ſale of ſuch priſoners as their perpetual ſlaves; or otherwiſe to retain and keep them as they think meet, (they being ſuch as the law allows to be kept.) Finally, the ſaid Capt. Church *herein improving his beſt judgment and diſcretion, and utmoſt ability, faithfully to ſerve the intereſt of God, his Majeſty's intereſt, and the intereſt of the colony; and carefully governing his ſaid company at home and abroad: Theſe ſhall be unto him full and ample commiſſion, warrant and Diſcharge. Given under the Public Seal,* January 15th, 1676.

Per JOSIAH WINSLOW, Gov.

Accordingly Capt. *Church*, accompanied with ſeveral gentlemen and others, went out, and took divers parties of Indians; and in one of which parties there was a certain old man whom Capt. *Church* ſeemed to take particular notice of, and aſking him where he belonged, he told him to *Swanzey*; the Captain aſked his name, who replied, his name was *Conſcience*; *Conſcience*, ſaid the Capt. ſmiling, then the war is over, for that was what they were ſearching for, it being much wanted; and then returned the ſaid *Conſcience* to his poſt again at *Swanzey*, to a certain perſon the ſaid Indian deſired to be ſold to, and ſo returned home.

P. Revere sc

PHILIP. *KING* of Mount Hope.

A further account of the actions in the more late wars againſt the common enemy and Indian rebels, in the eaſtern parts, under the command of the aforeſaid Captain BENJAMIN CHURCH.

IN the time of Sir *Edmund Androſs*'s government began that bloody war in the eaſtern parts of *New-England*; ſo that immediately Sir *Edmund* ſent an expreſs for Capt. *Church*; who, then being at *Little-Compton*, received it on a Lord's Day, in the afternoon meeting; going home after meeting, took his horſe and ſet out for *Boſton*, as ordered; and by ſunriſe next morning got to *Braintree*, where he met with Col. *Page* on horſeback, going to *Weymouth* and *Hingham* to raiſe forces to go Eaſt; who ſaid he was glad to ſee him, and that his Excellency would be as glad to ſee him in *Boſton* ſo early: So parting he ſoon got to *Boſton*, and waited upon his Excellency; who informed him of an unhappy war broke out in the eaſtern parts; and ſaid, he was going himſelf in perſon, and that he wanted his company with him: But Captain *Church* not finding himſelf in the ſame ſpirit he uſed to have, ſaid, he hoped his Excellency would give him time to conſider of it. He told him he might; and alſo ſaid that he muſt come and dine with him. Captain *Church* having many acquaintance in *Boſton*, who made it their buſineſs ſome to encourage, and others to diſcourage him from going with his Excellency: So after dinner his Excellency took him into his room and diſcourſed freely; ſaying, that he having knowledge of his former actions and ſucceſſes; and that he muſt go

with him, and be his ſecond, with other encouragements. But in ſhort, the ſaid Captain *Church* did not accept, ſo was diſmiſſed and went home.

Soon after this was the revolution, and the other government re-aſſumed; and then Governor *Bradſtreet* ſent for Captain *Church* to come to *Boſton* as ſoon as his buſineſs would permit; whereupon he went to *Boſton*, & waited upon his Honor; who told him he was requeſted by the Council to ſend for him, to ſee if he could be prevailed with to raiſe volunteers, both *Engliſh* and Indians, to go Eaſt; for the eaſtward Indians had done great ſpoil upon the *Engliſh* in thoſe parts; giving him an account of the miſeries and ſufferings of the people there. Capt. *Church*'s ſpirits being affected, ſaid, if he could do any ſervice for his Honor, the country, and their relief, he was ready and willing. He was aſked how he would act? He ſaid, He would take with him as many of his old ſoldiers as he could get, both *Engliſh* and Indians, &c. The Gentlemen of *Boſton* requeſted him to go to *Rhode-Iſland* government to aſk their aſſiſtance: So giving him their letter, and about *forty ſhillings* in money, he took leave, and went home to *Briſtol* on a Saturday, and the next Monday morning he went over to *Rhode-Iſland*, and waited upon their Governor, delivering the letter as ordered; prayed his Honor for a ſpeedy anſwer: Who ſaid, they could not give an anſwer preſently; ſo he waited on them till he had their anſwer; and when he had obtained it, he carried it to the *Boſton* Gentlemen; who deſired him to raiſe what volunteers he could in *Plymouth* colony, and *Rhode-Iſland* government, and what was wanting they would make up out of their's that was already out in the eaſtern parts. The ſummer being far ſpent, Capt. *Church* made what deſpatch he could, and raiſed about 250 men volunteers, and received his commiſſion from Governor *Hinkley*, which is as followeth, *viz.*

'*The Council of war of their Majeſties colony of* New-Ply-
'mouth, *in* New-England : *To Major* Benjamin
'Church, *Commander in Chief.*

'WHEREAS the *Kennebeck* and *eaſtern* Indians
'with their confederates, have openly made war
'upon their Majeſties ſubjects of the provinces of *Maine*,
'*New-Hampſhire*, and of the *Maſſachuſetts* colony, hav-
'ing committed many barbarous murders, ſpoils and ra-
'pines upon their perſons and eſtates : And whereas
'there are ſome forces of ſoldiers, *Engliſh* and Indians,
'now raiſed and detached out of the ſeveral regiments
'and places within this colony of *New-Plymouth*, to go
'forth to the aſſiſtance of our neighbours and friends,
'of the aforeſaid provinces and colony of the *Maſſachu-*
'*ſetts*, ſubjects of one and the ſame crown; and to join
'with their forces for the repelling and deſtruction of the
'common enemy : And whereas you, *Benjamin Church*,
'are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief of
'all the forces, *Engliſh* and Indians, detached within this
'colony, for the ſervice of their Majeſties aforeſaid :
'THESE are in their Majeſties name to authorize and
'require you to take into your care and conduct all the
'ſaid forces, *Engliſh* and Indians, and diligently to attend
'that ſervice, by leading and exerciſing of your inferior
'Officers and ſoldiers, commanding them to obey you as
'their chief commander; and to purſue, fight, take,
'kill, or deſtroy the ſaid enemies, their aiders and abet-
'tors, by all the ways and means you can, as you ſhall
'have opportunity. And you are to obſerve and obey all
'ſuch orders and inſtructions as from time to time you
'ſhall receive from the Commiſſioners of the colonies, the
'Council of war of this colony, or the Governor and
'Council of the *Maſſachuſett*'s colony. In teſtimony
'whereof the public ſeal of the ſaid colony of *New-Ply-*
'*mouth* is hereunto affixed. Dated in *Plymouth*, the ſixth

'day of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1689. *Annoque regni Re-*
'*gis et Reginæ* Willielmi *et* Mariæ *Angliæ*, &c. *Primo.*

THOMAS HINKLEY, *President.*

And now marching them all down to *Boston*, then received his further orders and instructions, which are as followeth:

Boston, September 16th, 1689.

'*To all Sheriffs, Marshals, Constables, and other Officers*
'*military and civil, in their Majesties province of Maine.*

'WHEREAS, purfuant to an agreement of the 'Commiſſioners of the United Colonies, Major '*Benjamin Church* is commiſſionated Commander in 'Chief over that part of their Majeſties forces (levied 'for the preſent expedition againſt the common enemy) 'whoſe head quarters are appointed to be at *Falmouth*, 'in *Caſco-Bay*: In their Majeſties names, you, and eve-'ry of you are required to be aiding and aſſiſting to the 'ſaid Major *Church* in his purſuit of the enemy, as any 'emergency ſhall require; and ſo impreſs boats, or other 'veſſels, carts, carriages, horſes, oxen, proviſion and 'ammunition, and men for guides, &c. as you ſha-'receive warrants from the ſaid chief commander, or his 'Lieutenant ſo to do: You may not fail to do the ſame 'ſpeedily and effectually, as you will anſwer your neglect 'and contempt of their Majeſties authority and ſervice 'at your uttermoſt peril. Given under my hand and 'ſeal the day and year above written. *Annoque Regni* '*Regis* et *Reginæ* Willielmi & Mariæ *Primo.*

'*By* Thomas Danforth, *Preſident of the*
'*province of Maine.*'

'*By the Governor and Council of the* Maſſachuſetts *Colony*:

'*To Major* Benjamin Church.

'WHEREAS you are appointed and commiſſioned 'by the Council of War, of the colony of *New-*
'*Plymouth*,

Plymouth, Commander in Chief of the forces raiſed within the ſaid colony, againſt the common Indian enemy, now ordered into the eaſtern parts, to join with ſome of the forces of this colony; for the proſecution, repelling and ſubduing of the ſaid enemy: It is therefore ordered that Captain *Simon Willard*, and Captain *Nathaniel Hall*, with the two companies of ſoldiers under their ſeveral command, belonging to this colony, now in or about *Caſco-Bay*, be, and are hereby put under you, as their Commander in Chief for this preſent expedition. And in purſuance of the commiſſions ſeverally given to either of them, they are ordered to obſerve and obey your orders and directions as their Commander in Chief until further order from the Governor and Council, or the Commiſſioners of the colonies. Dated in *Boſton* the 7th day of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1689. *Annoque Regni Regis et Reginæ* Guilielmi *et* Mariæ, *Angliæ*, &c. *Primo.*

S. BRADSTREET, Gov.

Paſt in Council,

Atteſt. Iſaac Addington, *Secr.*

By the Commiſſioners of the colonies of the Maſſachuſetts, Plymouth *and* Connecticut, *for managing the preſent war againſt the common enemy.*

INSTRUCTIONS for Major *Benjamin Church*, Commander in Chief of the *Plymouth* forces, with others of the *Maſſachuſetts*, put under his command.

IN purſuance of the commiſſion given you, for their Majeſties ſervice in the preſent expedition againſt the common Indian enemy, their aiders and abettors; repoſing confidence in your wiſdom, prudence and fidelity in the truſt committed to you, for the honor of God, good of his people, and the ſecurity of the intereſt

" of Chriſt in his churches, expecting and praying that in
" your dependance upon him, you may be helped and aſ-
" ſiſted with all that grace and wiſdom which is requiſite
" for carrying you on with ſucceſs in this difficult ſervice;
" and tho' much is and muſt be left to your diſcretion, as
" Providence and opportunity may preſent from time to
" time in places of attendance: Yet the following inſtruc-
" tions are commended unto your obſervation, & to be at-
" tended to ſo far as the ſtate of matters with you in ſuch
" a tranſaction will admit. You are with all poſſible ſpeed
" to take care that the *Plymouth* forces, both *Engliſh* and
" Indians, under your command, be fixed and ready, and
" the firſt opportunity of wind and weather, to go on
" board ſuch veſſels as are provided to tranſport you and
" them to *Caſco*, where, if it ſhall pleaſe God you arrive,
" you are to take under your care and command the com-
" panies of Captain *Nathaniel Hall*, and Capt. *Simon Wil-*
" *lard*, who are ordered to attend your command, whom,
" together with the *Plymouth* forces, and ſuch as from
" time to time may be added unto you, you are to im-
" prove in ſuch way as you ſhall ſee meet, for the diſ-
" covering, purſuing, ſubduing and deſtroying the ſaid
" common enemy, by all opportunities you are capable
" of; always intending the preſerving of any of the near
" towns from incurſions, and deſtruction of the enemy,
" yet chiefly improving your men for the finding and fol-
" lowing the ſaid enemy abroad, and if poſſible to find
" out and attack their head quarters and principal ren-
" dezvouz, if you find you are in a rational capacity of
" ſo doing. The better to enable you thereto, we have
" ordered two men of war ſloops, and other ſmall veſſels
" for tranſportation to attend you, for ſome conſiderable
" time. You are to ſee that your ſoldiers arms be always
" fixed, and that they be furniſhed with ammunition, pro-
" viſions and other neceſſaries, that ſo they may be in a
" readineſs to repel and attack the enemy. In your pur-

" ſuit

ſuit you are to take ſpecial care to avoid danger by ambuſhments, or being drawn under any diſadvantage by the enemy in your marches, keeping out ſcouts & a forlorn hope before your main body, & by all poſſible means endeavouring to ſurpriſe ſome of the enemy, that ſo you may gain intelligence. You are to ſuppreſs all mutinies and diſorders among your ſoldiers, as much as in you lies, and to puniſh ſuch as diſobey your officers, according to the rules of war herewith given you.

'You are, according to your opportunity, or any occaſion more than ordinary occurring, to hold correſpondence with Major *Swaine*, and to yield mutual aſſiſtance when and as you are capable of it, and you may have reaſon to judge it will be of moſt public ſervice; and it will be meet you and he ſhould agree of ſome ſignal whereby your Indians may be known from the enemy. You are to encourage your ſoldiers to be induſtrious, vigorous, and venturous in their ſervice, to ſearch out and deſtroy the enemy, acquainting them, it is agreed by the ſeveral colonies, that they ſhall have the benefit of the captives, and all lawful plunder, and the reward of *Eight Pounds* per head, for every fighting Indian man ſlain by them, over and above their ſtated wages; the ſame being made appear to the Commander in Chief, or ſuch as ſhall be appointed to take care therein. If your Commiſſion Officers, or any of them ſhould be ſlain, or otherwiſe uncapable of ſervice, and for ſuch reaſon diſmiſſed, you are to appoint others in their room, who ſhall have the like wages, and a commiſſion ſent upon notice given, you to give them commiſſions in the mean time. You are to take effectual care that the worſhip of God be kept up in the army, morning and evening prayer attended as far as may be, and as the emergencies of your affairs will admit, to ſee that the holy ſabbath be duly ſanctified. You are to take care as much as may be, to prevent or puniſh drunkenneſs,

'ſwearing, curſing, or ſuch other ſins, as do provoke the' 'anger of God. You are to adviſe with your chief Of-' 'ficers in any matters of moment, as you ſhall have op-' 'portunity. You are from time to time to give intelli-' 'gence and advice to the Governor and Council of the' '*Maſſachuſetts*, or Commiſſioners of the colonies, of your' 'proceedings and occurrences that may happen, and how' 'it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to deal with you in this preſent' 'expedition.

'If you find the veſſels are not likely to be ſerviceable' 'to you, diſmiſs them as ſoon as you may.

'Captain *Silvanus Davis* is a prudent man, and well' 'acquainted with the affairs of thoſe parts, and is writ' 'unto to adviſe and inform you all he can.

'Such further inſtructions as we ſhall ſee reaſon to' 'ſend unto you, you are carefully to attend and obſerve,' 'and in the abſence of the Commiſſioners, you ſhall ob-' 'ſerve the orders and inſtructions directed unto you from' 'the Governor and Council of the *Maſſachuſetts*.

'*Given under our hands in* Boſton, *Sept.* 18, 1689.

Tho. Hinkley, *Thomas Danforth*, Preſident,
John Walley, *Eliſha Cooke*,
Samuel Maſon,
William Pitkin.

The Firſt EXPEDITION Eaſt.

BEING ready, Major *Church* embarked with his forces on board the veſſels provided to tranſport them for *Caſco*, having a brave gale at S. W. and on Friday about 3 o'clock, they got in ſight of *Caſco* harbour; and diſcovering two or three ſmall ſhips there, not knowing whether they were friends or enemies; whereupon the ſaid Commander, Major *Church*, gave orders that every man that was able ſhould make ready, and all lie cloſe, giving orders how they ſhould act in caſe they were

were enemies. He going in the *Mary* sloop, together with the *Resolution*, went in first, being both well fitted with guns and men; coming to the first hailed them, who said they were friends, presently mann'd their boat, brought to, and so came along the side of them; who gave the said *Church* an account, that yesterday there was a very great army of Indians and *French* with them upon the island, at the going out of the harbour, and that they were come on purpose to take *Casco* fort and town; likewise inform'd him that they had got a captive woman aboard (Major *Walden*'s daughter of *Piscataqua*) that could give him a full account of their number and intentions: He bid them give his service to their Captain, and tell him, he would wait upon him after he had been on shore and given some orders and directions. Being come pretty near he ordered all the men still to keep close, giving an account of the news he had received, and then went ashore, where were several of the chief men of the town who met him, being glad that he came so happily to their relief; told him the news Mrs. *Lee* had given them, being the woman aforesaid. He going to Captain *Davis*'s to get some refreshment, having not eat a morsel since he came by *Boston* castle; and now having inquired into the state of the town, found them in a poor condition to defend themselves against such a number of enemies: He gave them an account of his orders and instructions, and told them what forces he had brought, and that when it was dark they should all land, and not before, lest the enemy should discover them. And then he went on board the privateer, who were *Dutchmen*; but as he went call'd aboard every vessel, and ordered the Officers to take care that their men might be all fitted and provided to fight, for the people of the town expected the enemy to fall upon them every minute, but withal charging them to keep undiscovered; and coming on board said privateer was kindly treated, discoursed Mrs. *Lee*, who informed

him

him that the company ſhe came with had fourſcore canoes, and that there were more of them whom ſhe had not ſeen, which came from other places, and that they told her when they came all together, ſhould make up 700 men. He aſked her whether *Caſteen* was with them? She anſwered, that there were ſeveral *French* men with them, but did not know whether *Caſteen* was there or not. He then having got what intelligence ſhe could give him, went aſhore and viewed the fort and town, diſcourſing with the Gentlemen there according to his inſtructions; and when it began to grow dark, he ordered the veſſels to come as near the fort as might be, and land the ſoldiers with as little noiſe as poſſible; ordering them as they landed to go into the fort and houſes that ſtood near, that ſo they might be ready upon occaſion; having ordered proviſions for them, went to every company and ordering them to get every thing ready; they that had no powder-horns or ſhot-bags, ſhould immediately make them; ordering the officers to take ſpecial care that they were ready to march into the woods an hour before day: And alſo directing the watch to call him two hours before day; ſo he haſtened to bed to get ſome reſt.

At the time prefixed he was called, and preſently ordering the companies to make ready, and about half an hour before day they moved. Several of the town people went with them into a thick place of bruſh, about half a mile from the town; now ordering them to ſend out their ſcouts, as they uſed to do, and ſeeing them all ſettled at their work, he went into town by ſunriſe again, and deſired the inhabitants to take care of themſelves, till his men had fitted themſelves with ſome neceſſaries: For his Indians moſt of them wanted both bags and horns; ſo he ordered them to make bags like wallets, to put powder in one end, and ſhot in the other. So moſt of them were ready for action, *(viz.)* the *Seconet* Indians, but the *Cape* Indians were very bare, lying ſo long at *Boſton* before

before they embarked, that they had ſold every thing they could make a penny of; ſome tying ſhot and powder in the corners of their blankets. He being in town, juſt going to breakfaſt, there was an alarm, ſo he ordered all the ſoldiers in town to move away as faſt as they could, where the firing was; and he, with what men more were with with him of his ſoldiers, moved immediately, and meeting with Captain *Bracket*'s ſons, who told him their father was taken, and that they ſaw a great army of Indians in their father's orchard, *&c.* By this time our Indians that wanted bags and horns were fitted, but wanted more ammunition. Preſently came a meſſenger to him from the town and inform'd him, that they had knock'd out the heads of ſeveral caſks of bullets, and they were all too big, being muſket bullets, and would not fit their guns, and that if he did not go back himſelf a great part of the army would be kept back from ſervice for want of ſuitable bullets.

He run back and ordered every veſſel to ſend aſhore all their caſks of bullets; being brought knock'd out their heads, and turn'd them all out upon the green by the fort, and ſet all the people in the town, that were able, to make ſlugs; being moſt of them too large for their uſe, which had like to have been the overthrow of their whole army: He finding ſome ſmall bullets, and what ſlugs were made, and three ſnapſacks of powder, went immediately to the army, who were very hotly engaged; but coming to the river the tide was up; he call'd to his men that were engaged, encouraging them, and told them he had brought more ammunition for them. An Indian call'd Captain *Lightfoot*, laid down his gun, and came over the river, taking the powder upon his head, and a kettle of bullets in each hand, and got ſafe to his fellow ſoldiers. He perceiving great firing upon that ſide he was of, went to ſee who they were, and found them to be two of Major *Church*'s companies, one of *Engliſh* and the other

of

of Indians, being in all about fourſcore men, that had not got over the river, but lay firing over our men's heads at the enemy; he preſently order'd them to rally, and come all together; and gave the word for a *Caſco* man: So one *Swarton*, a *Jerſey* man, appearing, who he could hardly underſtand; he aſk'd him how far it was to the head of the river, or whether there was any place to get over? He ſaid there was a bridge about three quarters of a mile up, where they might get over: So he calling to his ſoldiers engaged on the other ſide, that he would ſoon be with them over the bridge, and come upon the backs of the enemy; which put new courage into them; ſo they immediately moved up towards the bridge, marching very thin, being willing to make what ſhew they could, ſhouting as they marched: They ſaw the enemy running from the river-ſide, where they had made ſtands with wood to prevent any body from coming over the river; and coming to the bridge, they ſaw on the other ſide that the enemy had laid logs and ſtuck birch bruſh along to hide themſelves from our view.

He ordered the company to come altogether, bidding them all to run after him, who would go firſt, and that as ſoon as they got over the bridge to ſcatter, that ſo they might not be all ſhot down together, expecting the enemy to be at their ſtands; ſo running up to the ſtands, found none there, but were juſt gone, the ground being much tumbled with them behind the ſaid ſtands. He ordered the Captain with his company of *Engliſh* to march down to our men engaged, and that they ſhould keep along upon the edge of the marſh, and himſelf with his Indian ſoldiers would march down through the bruſh: And coming to a parcel of low ground, which had been formerly burnt, the old bruſh being fallen down lay very thick, and the young bruſh being grown up made it bad travelling; but coming near the back of the enemy, one of his men called unto him, their commander, and ſaid, that

that the enemy run weſtward to get between us and the bridge, and he looking that way ſaw men running, and making a ſmall ſtop, heard no firing, but a great choping with hatchets; ſo concluding the fight was over, made the beſt of their way to the bridge again, leſt the enemy ſhould get over the bridge into the town. The men being moſt of them out (our ammunition lay expoſed) coming to the bridge where he left ſix Indians for an ambuſcade on the other ſide of the river, that if any enemy offered to come over, they ſhould fire at them, which would give him notice, ſo would come to their aſſiſtance; (but in the way having heard no firing nor ſhouting, concluded the enemy were drawn off) he aſked the ambuſcade, whether they ſaw any Indians? They ſaid yes, abundance. He aſked them where? They anſwered, that they ran over the head of the river by the cedar ſwamp, and were running into the neck towards the town.

There being but one *Engliſhman* with him, he bid his Indian ſoldiers ſcatter, run very thin to preſerve themſelves, and be the better able to make a diſcovery of the enemy; and ſoon coming to Lieutenant *Clark*'s field, on the ſouth ſide of the neck, and ſeeing the cattle feeding quietly, and perceiving no track, concluded the ambuſcade had told them a falſhood; they haſtily returned back to the ſaid bridge, perceiving there was no noiſe of the enemy. He hearing ſeveral great guns fire at the town, concluded that they were either aſſaulted, or that they had diſcovered the enemy: He having ordered that in caſe ſuch ſhould be, that they ſhould fire ſome of their great guns to give him notice; he being a ſtranger to the country, concluded the enemy had by ſome other way got to the town; whereupon he ſent his men to the town, and himſelf going to the river, near where the fight had been, aſked them how they did, and what was become of the enemy? Who informed him that the enemy drew off in leſs than an hour after he left them, and had not fired a

gun

gun at them ſince. He told them he had been within little more than a gun ſhot of the back of the enemy, and had been upon them had it not been for thick bruſhy ground, *&c.* Now ſome of his men returning from the town gave him the account, that they went while they ſaw the colours ſtanding and men walking about as not moleſted. He preſently ordered that all his army ſhould purſue the enemy; but they told him that moſt of them had ſpent their ammunition, and that if the enemy had engaged them a little longer they might have come and knock'd them on the head; and that ſome of their bullets were ſo unſizable that ſome of them were forced to make ſlugs while they were engaged. He then ordered them to get over all the wounded and dead men, and to leave none behind; which was done by ſome canoes they had got. Captain *Hall* and his men being firſt engaged did great ſervice, and ſuffered the greateſt loſs in his men; but Captain *Southworth* with his company, and Capt. *Numpoſh* with the *Seconet* Indians, and the moſt of the men belonging to the town all coming ſuddenly to his relief, prevented him & his whole company from being cut off, *&c.*

By this time the day was far ſpent, and marching into town about ſunſet, carrying in all their wounded and dead men, being all ſenſible of God's goodneſs to them, in giving them the victory, & cauſing the enemy to fly with ſhame, who never gave one ſhout at their drawing off. The poor inhabitants wonderfully rejoiced that the Almighty had favoured them ſo much; ſaying, That if Maj. *Church*, with his forces, had not come at that juncture, they had been all cut off; and ſaid further, That it was the firſt time that ever the *eaſtward* Indians had been put to flight, and the ſaid *Church* with his volunteers were wonderfully preſerved, having never a man killed outright, and but one Indian mortally wounded, who died, ſeveral more being badly wounded, but recovered.

After

After this engagement Maj. *Church*, with his forces, ranging all the country thereabout, in purſuit of the enemy; and viſiting all the garriſons at *Black-Point*, *Spurwink*, and *Blue-Point*, and went up *Kennebeck* river, but to little effect. And now winter drawing near, he received orders from the government of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, to ſettle all the garriſons, and put in ſuitable officers according to his beſt diſcretion, and to ſend home all his ſoldiers, volunteers and tranſports; which orders he preſently obeyed. Being obliged to buy him a horſe to go home by land, that ſo he might the better comply with his orders. The poor people, the inhabitants of *Caſco*, and places adjacent, when they ſaw he was going away from them, lamented ſadly, and begged earneſtly that he would ſuffer them to come away in the tranſports; ſaying, that if he left them there, that in the ſpring of the year the enemy would come and deſtroy them and their families, &c. So by their earneſt requeſt the ſaid Maj. *Church* promiſed them, that if the governments that had now ſent him, would ſend him the next ſpring, he would certainly come with his volunteers and Indians to their relief: And that as ſoon as he had been at home, and taken a little care of his own buſineſs, he would certainly wait upon the gentlemen of *Boſton*, and inform them of the promiſe he had made to them; and if they did not ſee cauſe to ſend them relief, to entreat their honors ſeaſonably to draw them off, that they might not be a prey to the barbarous enemy.

Taking his leave of thoſe poor inhabitants, ſome of the chief men there waited upon him to *Black-Point*, to Capt. *Scottaway*'s garriſon; coming there, they prevailed with the ſaid Capt. *Scottaway* to go with him to *Baſton*, which he readily comply'd with, provided the ſaid *Church* would put another in to command the garriſon; which being done, and taking their leave one of another, they ſet out and travelled through all the country, home to *Boſton*; having employ'd himſelf to the utmoſt to fulfil his inſtructions

ſtructions laſt received from *Boſton* gentlemen, which coſt him about a month's ſervice over and above what he had pay for from the *Plymouth* gentlemen :) And in his travel homeward ſeveral gentlemen waited upon the ſaid Major *Church*, who was obliged to bear their expences. When he came to *Boſton* gentlemen, he informed them of the miſeries thoſe poor people were in by having their proviſions taken from them by order of the Preſident, &c. Then went home ; ſtaid not long there before he returned to *Boſton*, where Capt. *Scottaway* waited for his coming, that he might have the determination of the government of *Boſton* to carry home with him ; and it being the time of the Small-Pox there, (and Maj. *Church* hot having had it) taking up his lodging near the Court-Houſe, took the firſt opportunity to inform thoſe gentlemen of the Court his buſineſs ; who ſaid they were very buſy in ſending home Sir *Edmund*, the ſhip being ready to ſail. The ſaid Major *Church* ſtill waiting upon them, and at every opportunity entreating thoſe gentlemen in behalf of the poor people of *Caſco*, informing the neceſſity of taking care of them, either by ſending them relief early in the ſpring, or ſuffer them to draw off, otherwiſe they would certainly be deſtroyed, &c. Their anſwer was, They could do nothing till Sir *Edmund* was gone. Waiting there three weeks upon great expences, he concluded to draw up ſome of the circumſtances of *Caſco*, and places adjacent, and to leave it upon the Council Board, before the Governor & Council ; having got it done, obtained liberty to go up where the Governor and Council were ſitting, he inform'd their honors, that he had waited till his patience was wore out, ſo had drawn up the matter to leave upon the Board before them : Which is as follows :

To the honored Governor and Council of the Maſſachuſetts.

Gentlemen,

WHEREAS *by virtue of yours, with* Plymouth's *deſires and commands, I went* eaſtward *in the laſt expedition*

expedition againſt the common Indian *enemy, where Providence ſo ordered that we attacked their greateſt body of forces, coming then for the deſtruction of* Falmouth, *which we know marched off repulſed with conſiderable damage, leaving the ground, and never ſince ſeen there, or in any place adjacent: The time of the year being then too late to proſecute any further deſign, and other accidents falling contrary to my expectation, impeding the deſired ſucceſs. Upon my then removal from the province of* Maine, *the inhabitants were very ſolicitous that this enemy might be further proſecuted, willing to venture their lives and fortunes in the ſaid enterpriſe, wherein they might ſerve God, their King and country, and enjoy quiet and peaceable habitations; upon which I promiſed to ſignify the ſame to yourſelves, and willing to venture that little which Providence hath betruſted me with, on the ſaid account. The ſeaſon of the year being ſuch if ſome ſpeedy action be not performed in attacking them, they will certainly be upon us in our out towns (God knows where) and the inhabitants there not being able to defend themſelves, without doubt many ſouls may be cut off, as our laſt year's experience wofully hath declared: The inhabitants there truſt to your protection, having undertaken government and your propriety; if nothing be performed on the ſaid account, the beſt way (under correction) is to demoliſh the garriſon, and draw off the inhabitants, that they may not be left to a mercileſs enemy; and that the arms and ammunition may not be there for the ſtrengthening of the enemy; who without doubt have need enough, having exhauſted their greateſt ſtore in this winter ſeaſon. I have performed my promiſe to them, and acquitted myſelf in ſpecifying the ſame to yourſelves: Not that I deſire to be in any action (although willing to ſerve my King and country) and may paſs under the cenſure of ſcandalous tongues in the laſt expedition, which I hope they will amend on the firſt opportunity of ſervice. I leave to mature conſideration, the loſs of trade and fiſhery; the war brought to the doors; what a triumph it will be*

to the enemy, deriſion to our neighbours, beſides diſhonor to God and our nation, and grounds of frowns from our Prince, the fruſtration of thoſe whoſe eyes are upon you for help, who might have otherwiſe applied themſelves to their King. Gentlemen, *this I thought humbly to propoſe unto you, that I might diſcharge myſelf in my truſt from yourſelves, and promiſe to the inhabitants of the province, but eſpecially my duty to God, her Majeſty, and my nation, praying for your Honors proſperity, ſubſcribe,*

Your ſervant,
Benj. Church.

A true copy given in at *Boſton*, this 6th of *February*, 1689, at the Council Board. *Atteſt. T. S.*

Major *Church* ſaid moreover that in thus doing he had complied with his promiſe to thoſe poor people of *Caſco*, and ſhould be quit from the guilt of their blood. The Governor was pleaſed to thank him for his care and pains taken; then taking his leave of them went home, and left Captain *Scottaway* in a very ſorrowful condition, who returned home ſome time after with only a copy of what was left on the board by the ſaid *Church*. Maj. *Church* not hearing any thing till *May* following, and then was informed, that thoſe poor people of *Caſco* were cut off by the barbarous enemy: And that altho' they made their terms with Monſieur *Caſteen*, who was commander of thoſe enemies, yet he ſuffered thoſe mercileſs ſavages to maſſacre and deſtroy the moſt of them. To conclude this firſt expedition *Eaſt*; I ſhall juſt give you a hint how Major *Church* was treated (altho' he was Commander in Chief of all the forces out of *Plymouth* and *Boſton* government) after he came home, for *Plymouth* Gentlemen paid him but *Forty-two pounds*; telling him, he muſt go to *Boſton* Gentlemen for the reſt, who were his employers as well as they. Of whom he never had one penny for

all

all travel and expences in raiſing volunteers, and ſervices done; except *Forty ſhillings* or thereabout, for going from *Boſton* to *Rhode-Iſland* on their buſineſs, and back to *Boſton* again: Alſo for ſending a man to *Providence* for Captain *Edmunds* (who raiſed a company in thoſe parts) and went *Eaſt* with them.

The 2d EXPEDITION Eaſt.

IN the year 1690 was the expedition to *Canada*, and Major *Walley* often requeſted Major *Church* that if he would not go himſelf in that expedition, that he would not hinder others: He anſwered the ſaid *Walley*, That he ſhould hinder none but his old ſoldiers, that uſed to go along with him, *&c.* And the ſaid *Church* going down to *Charleſtown*, to take his leave of ſome of his relations, and friends, who were going into that expedition, promiſed his wife and family not to go into *Boſton*, the ſmall-pox being very rife there. Coming to *Charleſtown*, ſeveral of his friends in *Boſton* came over to ſee him; and the next day after the ſaid *Church* came there, Major *Walley* came to him, and informed him, that the Governor and Council wanted to ſpeak with him: He anſwered him, That he had promiſed his wife and family not to go into *Boſton*; ſaying, if they had any buſineſs, they could write to him, and that he would ſend them his anſwer. Soon after came over two other Gentlemen with a meſſage, that the Governor and Council wanted to have ſome diſcourſe with him: The anſwer returned was, that he intended to lodge that night at the *Gray-hound*, in *Roxbury*, and that in the morning would come to *Pollard*'s at the ſouth end of *Boſton*; which accordingly he did: Soon after he

came thither received a letter from the honorable Captain *Sewall*, to requeſt him to come to the Council; the anſwer he returned by the bearer was, That he thought there was no need of his hazarding himſelf ſo much as to come and ſpeak with them; not that he was afraid of his life, but becauſe he had no mind to be concerned, and further by reaſon they would not hearken to him about the poor people of *Caſco*. But immediately came Mr. *Maxfield* to him, ſaying, That the Council bid him tell the ſaid *Church*, That if he would take his horſe and ride along the middle of the ſtreet, there might be no danger, they were then ſitting in Council: He bid them go and tell his maſters, not to trouble themſelves, whether he came upon his head or feet, he was coming: However, thinking the return was ſomething rude, called him back to drink a glaſs of wine, and then he would go with him. So coming to the Council, they were very thankful to him for his coming; and told him that the occaſion of their ſending for him was, That there was a captive come in who gave them an account, that the Indians were come down, and had taken poſſeſſion of the ſtone fort at *Pejepſcot*, ſo that they wanted his advice and thoughts about the matter; whether they would tarry and keep in the fort or not? And whether it was not expedient to ſend ſome forces to do ſome ſpoil upon them; and further to know whether he could not be prevailed with to raiſe ſome volunteers and go, to do ſome ſpoil upon them? He anſwered them, he was unwilling to be concerned any more; it being very difficult and chargeable to raiſe volunteers, as he found by experience in the laſt expedition. But they uſing many arguments prevailed ſo far with him, that if the Government of *Plymouth* ſaw cauſe to ſend him (he would go) thinking the expedition would be ſhort; took his leave of them and went home. And in a ſhort time after there came an expreſs from Governor *Hinkley*, to requeſt Major *Church* to come to *Barnſtable* to him: He having received

ceived a letter from the government of *Boſton* to raiſe ſome forces to go *Eaſt*: whereupon the ſaid Major *Church* went the next day to *Barnſtable*, as ordered; finding the Governor and ſome of the Council of War there, diſcourſed him, concluding that he ſhould take his Indian ſoldiers, and two *Engliſh* Captains, with what volunteers could be raiſed; and that one Captain ſhould go out of *Plymouth* and *Barnſtable* county, and the other out of *Briſtol* county, with what forces he could raiſe, concluding to have but few officers, to ſave charge. The ſaid *Church* was at great charge and expence in raiſing of forces. Governor *Hinkley* promiſed that he would take care to provide veſſels to tranſport the ſaid army with ammunition and proviſions, by the time prefixed by himſelf, for the government of *Boſton* had obliged themſelves by their letter, to provide any thing that was wanting; ſo at the time prefixed Major *Church* marched down all his ſoldiers out of *Briſtol* county to *Plymouth*, as ordered; and being come, found it not as he expected, for there were neither proviſions, ammunition nor tranſports; ſo he immediately ſent an expreſs to the Governor who was at *Barnſtable*, to give him an account that he with the men were come to *Plymouth*, and found nothing ready; in his return to the ſaid *Church*, gave him an account of his diſappointments; and ſent *John Lathrop* of *Barnſtable* in a veſſel with ſome ammunition and proviſion on board, to him at *Plymouth*; alſo ſent him word that there was more on board of *Samuel Alling* of *Barnſtable*, who was to go for a tranſport, and that he himſelf would be at *Plymouth* next day; but *Alling* never came near him, but went to *Billings-gate*, at *Cape-cod*, as he was informed. The Governor being come, ſaid to Major *Church* that he muſt take ſome of the open ſloops, and make ſpar decks to them, and lay platforms for the ſoldiers to lie upon; which delays were very expenſive to the ſaid *Church*; his ſoldiers being all volunteers, daily expected to be treated by him, and the Indians

always begging for money to get drink; but he uſing his utmoſt diligence, made what deſpatch he could to be gone, being ready to embark, received his commiſſion and inſtructions from Governor *Hinkley*, which are as followeth, *viz.*

The Council of War of their Majeſties colony of New-Plymouth, *in* New-England:

To Major Benjamin Church, *Commander in Chief*, &c.

WHEREAS *the* Kenebeck *and* Eaſtward *Indians, with the* French *their confederates, have openly made war upon their Majeſties ſubjects of the provinces of* Maine, New Hampſhire, *and of the* Maſſachuſetts *colony, having committed many barbarous murders, ſpoils and rapines upon their perſons and eſtates. And whereas there are ſome forces of ſoldiers,* Engliſh *and Indians, now raiſed and detached out of the ſeveral regiments and places within this colony of* New-Plymouth, *to go forth to the aſſiſtance of our neighbours and friends of the aforeſaid provinces and colony of the* Maſſachuſetts, *ſubjects of one and the ſame crown. And whereas you,* Benjamin Church, *are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief of all the forces,* Engliſh *and Indians, detached within this colony, together with ſuch other of their Majeſties ſubjects as elſewhere ſhall liſt themſelves, or ſhall be orderly put under your command for the ſervice of their Majeſties, as aforeſaid. Theſe are in their Majeſties name to authorize and require you to take into your care and conduct all the ſaid forces,* Engliſh *and Indians, and diligently to intend that ſervice, by leading and exerciſing your inferior officers and ſoldiers, commanding them to obey you as their chief Commander. And to purſue, fight, take, kill or deſtroy the ſaid enemies, their aiders and abettors by all the ways and means you can, as you ſhall have opportunity, and to accept to mercy, or grant quarter and favour to ſuch, or ſo many of ſaid enemies as you ſhall find needful for promoting the deſign aforeſaid. And you are to obſerve and obey all ſuch orders and inſtruc-*

inſtructions, as from time to time you ſhall receive from the Commiſſioners of the colonies, or the Council of War of the ſaid colony of New-Plymouth, *or from the Governor and Council of the* Maſſachuſetts. *In teſtimony whereof is affixed the public ſeal of this colony. Dated in* Plymouth *the ſecond day of* September, *Anno Dom.* 1690. *Annoque regni Regis et Reginæ* Willielmi *et* Mariæ, *&c. Secundo.*

THO. HINKLEY, *Preſident.*

INSTRUCTIONS for Major Benjamin Church, *Commander in Chief of the* Plymouth *forces, with other of the* Maſſachuſetts *put under his command.*

'IN purſuance of the commiſſion given you for their 'Majeſties ſervice, in the preſent expedition againſt 'the common enemy, Indian and *French*, their aiders and 'abettors, on the requeſt of our brethren and friends of 'the *Maſſachuſetts* colony, ſubjects of one and the ſame 'crown of *England*; for our aſſiſtance of them therein; 'Repoſing confidence in your wiſdom, prudence, proneſs 'and faithfulneſs in the truſt under God committed to 'you for the honor of his name, the intereſt of Chriſt in 'theſe churches, and the good of the whole people; pray-'ing and expecting that in your dependance on him, you 'may be helped and aſſiſted with all that grace, wiſdom 'and courage neceſſary for the carrying of you on with 'ſucceſs in this difficult ſervice; and though much is and 'muſt be left to your diſcretion, with your Council of 'Officers, as Providence and opportunity may preſent 'from time to time in places of action: Yet the follow-'ing inſtructions are commended to you to be obſerved 'and attended to by you, ſo far as the ſtate and circum-'ſtances of that affair will admit.

'You are with all poſſible ſpeed to take care that the '*Plymouth* forces, both *Engliſh* and Indians, under your 'command, be fixed and ready on the firſt opportunity

" of wind and weather, to go on board ſuch veſſels, as " are provided to tranſport you to *Piſcataqua*; and there " to take under your care and command ſuch companies " of the *Maſſachuſetts* colony, as ſhall by them be order- " ed and added to you there, or elſewhere from time to " time; all which you are to improve in ſuch way, and " from place to place, as with the advice of your Council, " conſiſting of the Commiſſion Officers of the *Maſſachu-* " *ſetts* colony, and *Plymouth*, under your conduct, ſhall " ſeem meet, for the finding out, purſuing, taking or de- " ſtroying of ſaid common enemy, on all opportunities, " according to commiſſion, and ſuch further orders and " inſtructions as you have or may receive from the Gover- " nor and Council of the *Maſſachuſetts*, the Commiſſioners " for the united colonies, or the Governor and Council of " *Plymouth*; ſo far as you may be capable, intending what " you can the preſerving of the near towns from the in- " curſions and deſtructions of the enemy; but chiefly to " intend the finding out, purſuing, taking and deſtroy- " ing the enemy abroad, and if poſſible to attack them in " their head quarters and principal rendezvous, if you are " in a rational capacity of ſo doing; and for the better " enabling you thereunto, we have appointed the veſſels " that tranſport you, and the proviſions, *&c.* to attend " your motion and order, until you ſhall ſee cauſe to diſ- " miſs them, or any one of them, which is deſired to be " done the firſt opportunity that the ſervice will admit. " You are to ſee that your ſoldiers arms be always fixed, " and they provided with ammunition, and other neceſ- " ſaries, that they may be always ready to repel and at- " tack the enemy. You are to take ſpecial care to avoid " danger in the purſuit of the enemy by keeping out ſcouts, " and a forlorn, to prevent the ambuſhments of the ene- " my on your main body in their marches. And by all " poſſible means to ſurpriſe ſome of the enemy, that ſo " you may gain better intelligence.

" You

'You are to take effectual care that the worſhip of 'God be kept up in the army, that morning and evening 'prayer be attended, and the holy ſabbath duly ſanctifi-'ed, as the emergency of your affairs will admit.

'You are to take ſtrict care to prevent or puniſh 'drunkenneſs, curſing, ſwearing, and all other vices, leſt 'the anger of God be thereby provoked to fight againſt 'you. You are, from time to time, to give intelligence 'and advice to the Governor of the *Maſſachuſetts*, and 'to us, of your proceedings and occurrences that may at-'tend you. And in caſe of a failure of any commiſ-'ſion officers, you are to appoint others in their ſtead.— 'And when, with the advice of your Council aforeſaid, 'you ſhall, after ſome trial, ſee your ſervice not like to 'be advantageous to the accompliſhment of the public 'end aforeſaid; that then you return home with the for-'ces; eſpecially if you ſhall receive any orders or direc-'tions ſo to do from the *Maſſachuſetts*, or from us. *Given 'under my hand, at* Plymouth, *the ſecond day of* Septem-'ber, *Anno Dom.* 1690.

THO. HINKLEY, Gov. & Preſident."

Now having a fair wind Maj. *Church* ſoon got to *Piſcataqua*, who was to apply himſelf to Maj. *Pike*, a worthy gentleman, who ſaid, He had advice of his coming from *Boſton* gentlemen; alſo he had received directions that what men the ſaid *Church* ſhould want muſt be raiſed out of *Hampſhire*, out of the ſeveral towns & garriſons; Maj. *Pike* aſk'd him, How many men he ſhould want? He ſaid enough to make up his forces that he brought with him, 300 at leaſt, and not more than 350. And ſo in a-bout nine days time he was ſupply'd with two companies of ſoldiers. He having been at about *twenty ſhillings* a day charge in expences while there. Now he received Maj. *Pike*'s inſtructions: Which are as followeth:

Portſmouth,

Portſmouth, in *New-Hampſhire*, *Sept.* 9, 1690.

To Major Benjamin Church, *Commander in Chief of their Majeſties forces now deſigned upon the preſent expedition eaſtward, and now reſident at* Portſmouth.

THE Governor and Council of the Maſſachuſetts *Colony repoſing great truſt and confidence in your loyalty and valour, from experience of your former actions, and of God's preſence with you in the ſame: In purſuance of an order, received from them, commanding it: Theſe are in their Majeſties names to empower and require you, as Commander in Chief, to take into your care and conduct theſe forces now here preſent at their rendezvous at* Portſmouth; *and they are alike required to obey you: And with them to ſail eaſtward by the firſt opportunity to* Caſco, *or places adjacent, that may be moſt commodious for landing with ſafety and ſecrecy; and to viſit the* French *and Indians at their head-quarters at* Ameras-cogen, Pejepſcot, *or any other place, according as you may have hope or intelligence of the reſidence of the enemy; uſing always your utmoſt endeavour for the preſervation of your own men, and the killing, deſtroying, and utterly rooting out of the enemy, whereſoever they may be found; and alſo as much as may poſſibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our captives in any places.*

You being there arrived, and underſtanding your way, to take your journey back again either by land or water, as you ſhall judge moſt convenient for the accompliſhing of the end intended; and to give intelligence always of your motions whenſoever you can with ſafety and convenience.

Laſtly, *In all to conſult your council, the commanders or commiſſion officers of your ſeveral companies, when it may be obtained, the greater part of whom to determine: And ſo the Lord of Hoſts, the God of armies, go along with you, and be your conduct. Given under my hand the day and year aboveſaid.* *Per* ROBERT PIKE.

Being ready, they took the firſt opportunity, and made the beſt of their way to *Pejepſcot* fort, where they found nothing

nothing. From thence they marched to *Ameras-cogen*, and when they came near the fort, Maj. *Church* made a halt, ordering the Captains to draw out of their ſeveral companies 60 of their meaneſt men, to be a guard to the Doctor and ſnapſacks, being not a mile from ſaid fort; and then moving towards the fort, they ſaw young *Doney* and his wife, with two *Engliſh* captives: The ſaid *Doney* made his eſcape to the fort, his wife was ſhot down, and ſo the two poor captives were releaſed out of their bondage.—The ſaid Maj. *Church* and Capt. *Walton* made no ſtop, making the beſt of their way to the fort, with ſome of the army, in hopes of getting to the fort before young *Doney*; but the river, through which they muſt paſs, being as deep as their armpits; however Maj. *Church*, as ſoon as he was got over, ſtripp'd to his ſhirt and jacket, leaving his breeches behind, ran directly to the fort, having an eye to ſee if young *Doney*, who ran on the other ſide of the river, ſhould get there before him: The wind now blowing very hard in their faces, as they ran, was ſome help to them; for ſeveral of our men fired guns, which they in the fort did not hear, ſo that we had taken all in the fort, had it not been for young *Doney*, who got to the fort juſt before we did, who ran into the ſouth gate, and out at the north, all the men following him, except one, who all ran directly down to the great river and falls. The ſaid *Church*, and his forces, being come pretty near, he ordered the ſaid *Walton* to run directly, with ſome forces, into the fort, and himſelf, with the reſt, ran down to the river after the enemy, who ran ſome of them into the river, and the reſt under the great falls; thoſe who ran into the river were killed, for he ſaw but one man get over, and he only crept up the bank, and there lay in open ſight; and thoſe that run under the falls they made no diſcovery of, notwithſtanding ſeveral of his men went in under the ſaid falls, and were gone ſome conſiderable time, could not find them; ſo leaving a watch

watch there, return'd up to the fort, where he found but one man taken, and ſeveral women and children, amongſt whom was Capt. *Hakins*'s wife and *Worumbos*'s wife, the Sachem of that fort, with their children; the ſaid *Hakins* was Sachem of *Pennacook*, who deſtroyed Maj. *Walden* and his family, ſome time before, &c. The ſaid two women, viz. *Hakins*'s and *Worumbos*'s wives, requeſted the ſaid *Church* that he would ſpare them and their children's lives, promiſing, upon that condition, he ſhould have all the captives that were taken, and in the Indians hands: He aſked them, how many? They ſaid, about fourſcore: So, upon that condition, he promiſed them their lives, &c. And in the ſaid fort there were ſeveral *Engliſh* captives, who were in a miſerable condition; amongſt them was Capt. *Huckings*'s wife, of *Oyſter-river*. Maj. *Church* proceeded to examine the man taken, who gave him an account that moſt of the fighting men were gone to *Winter-harbour*, to provide proviſions for the *Bay* of *Fundy* Indians, who were to come and join with them to fight the *Engliſh*. The ſoldiers being very rude, would hardly ſpare the Indian's life, while in examination, intending when he had done that he ſhould be executed: But Capt. *Huckings*'s wife, and another woman, down on their knees and beg'd for him, ſaying, He had been a means to ſave their lives, and a great many more; and had helped ſeveral to opportunities to run away and make their eſcape; and that never, ſince he came amongſt them, had fought againſt the *Engliſh*, but being related to *Hakins*'s wife, kept at the fort with them, he having been there two years; but his living was to the weſtward of *Boſton*. So, upon their requeſt, his life was ſpared, &c. Next day the ſaid *Church* ordered that all their corn ſhould be deſtroyed, being a great quantity, ſaving a little for the two old Squaws which he deſign'd to leave at the fort, to give an account who he was, & from whence he came; the reſt being knock'd on the head, except the aforementioned, for an example,

ordering

ordering them all to be buried. Having inquired where all their beſt beaver was? They ſaid, it was carried away to make a preſent to the *Bay of Fundy* Indians, who were coming to their aſſiſtance.

Now being ready to draw off from thence, he called the two old ſquaws to him, and gave each of them a kettle and ſome biſket, bidding them to tell the Indians when they came home, that he was known by the name of Capt. *Church*, and lived in the weſterly part of *Plymouth* government; and that thoſe Indians that came with him were formerly King *Philip*'s men, and that he had met with them in *Philip*'s war, and drew them off from him, to fight for the *Engliſh*, againſt the ſaid *Philip* and his aſſociates, who then promiſed him to fight for the *Engliſh* as long as they had one enemy left; and ſaid, that they did not queſtion but before Indian corn was ripe to have *Philip*'s head, notwithſtanding he had twice as many men as were in their country; and that they had killed and taken one thouſand three hundred and odd of *Philip*'s men, women and children, and *Philip* himſelf, with ſeveral other Sachems, &c. and that they ſhould tell *Hakins* and *Worumbos*, That if they had a mind to ſee their wives and children they ſhould come to *Wells* garriſon, and that there they might hear of them, &c. Major *Church* having done, moved with all his forces down to *Mequait*, where the tranſports were (but in the way ſome of his ſoldiers threatened the Indian man priſoner very much, ſo that in a thick ſwamp he gave them the ſlip and got away) and when they all got on board the tranſport; the wind being fair, made the beſt of their way for *Winter Harbour*, and the next morning before day, and as ſoon as the day appeared, they diſcovered ſome ſmokes riſing towards *Skaman*'s garriſon: He immediately ſent away a ſcout of 60 men, and followed preſently with the whole body; the ſcout coming near a river diſcovered the enemy to be on the other ſide of the river: But three of the enemy were

were come over the river, to the ſame ſide of the river which the ſcout was of; ran haſtily down to their canoe, one of which lay at each end of the canoe, and the third ſtood up to paddle over: The ſcout fired at them, and he that paddled fell down upon the canoe, and broke it to pieces, ſo that all three periſhed. The firing put the enemy to the run, who left their canoes and proviſions to ours; and old *Doney*, and one *Thomas Baker*, an *Engliſhman*, who was a priſoner amongſt them, were up at the Falls, and heard the guns fire, expected the other Indians were come to their aſſiſtance, ſo came down the river in a canoe; but when they perceived that there were *Engliſh* as well as Indians, old *Doney* ran the canoe aſhore, and ran over *Baker*'s head, and followed the reſt, and then *Baker* came to ours; and gave an account of the beaver hid at *Pejepſcot* plain, and coming to the place where the plunder was, the Major ſent a ſcout to *Pejepſcot* fort, to ſee if they could make any diſcovery of the enemies tracks, or could diſcover any coming up the river; who returned and ſaid they ſaw nothing but our old tracks at the ſaid fort, *&c.*

Now having got ſome plunder, one of the Captains ſaid it was time to go home, and ſeveral others were of the ſame mind; and the Major being much diſturbed at the motion of theirs, expecting the enemy would come in a very ſhort time, where they might have a great advantage of them, *&c.* Notwithſtanding all he could ſay or do, he was obliged to call a council, according to his inſtructions, wherein he was out-voted. The ſaid Commander ſeeing he was put by of his intentions, proffered if ſixty men would ſtay with him, he would not embark as yet; but all he could ſay or do could not prevail; then they moved to the veſſels and embarked, and as they were going in the veſſels, on the back ſide of *Mayr-point*, they diſcovered eight or nine canoes, who turned ſhort about, and went up the river; being the ſame Indians that

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the Major expected, and would have waited for; and the aforeſaid Captain being much diſturbed at what the Major had ſaid to him, drew off from the fleet, and in the night ran aground, in the morning *Anthony Bracket*, having been adviſed and directed by the Indian that had made his eſcape from our forces, came down near where the aforeſaid veſſel lay aground, and got aboard, who has proved a good pilot & Capt. for his country. The next day being very calm and miſty, ſo that they were all day getting down from *Maquait* to *Perpodack*; and the maſters of the veſſels thinking it not ſafe putting out in the night, ſo late in the year, anchor'd there at *Perpodack*; the veſſels being much crowded, the Major ordered that three companies ſhould go on ſhore, and no more, himſelf with Capt. *Converſe* went with them to order their lodging, and finding juſt houſes convenient for them, viz. two barns and one houſe; ſo ſeeing them all ſettled and their watches out, the Major and Capt. *Converſe* return'd to go on board, and coming near where the boat was, it was pretty dark, they diſcovered ſome men, but did not know what or who they were; the Major ordered thoſe that were with him all to clap down and cock their guns, and he call'd out and aſk'd them who they were? And they ſaid, Indians: He aſk'd them whoſe men they were? They ſaid, Captain *Southworth*'s: He aſk'd them where they intended to lodge? They ſaid, In thoſe little huts that the enemy had made when they took that garriſon. The Major told them they muſt not make any fires, for if they did, the enemy would be upon them before day. They laugh'd, and ſaid, Our Major is afraid. Having given them their directions, he, with Capt. *Converſe*, went on board the *Mary* ſloop; deſigning to write home, and ſend away in the morning the two ſloops which had the ſmall-pox on board, &c.— But before day our Indians began to make fires, and to ſing and dance; ſo the Major called to Capt. *Southworth* to go aſhore and look after his men, for the enemy would

be

be upon them by and by. He ordered the boat to be haled up to carry him aſhore, and call'd Capt. *Converſe* to go with him, and juſt as the day began to appear, as the Major was getting into the boat to go aſhore, the enemy fired upon our men, the Indians, notwithſtanding that one *Philip*, an Indian of ours, who was out upon the watch, heard a man cough, and the ſticks crack; who gave the reſt an account, that he ſaw Indians; which they would not believe; but ſaid to him, You are afraid: His anſwer was, that they might ſee them come creeping: They laugh'd, and ſaid, They were hogs: Ay, ſaid he, and they will bite you by and by. So preſently they did fire upon our men; but the morning being miſty their guns did not go off quick, ſo that our men had all time to fall down before their guns went off, and ſaved themſelves from that volley, except one man, who was kill'd.

This ſudden firing upon our Indian ſoldiers ſurpriſed them that they left their arms, but ſoon recovered them again, and got down the bank, which was but low. The Major, with all the forces on board, landed as faſt as they could, the enemy firing ſmartly at them; however all got ſafe aſhore. The enemy had a great advantage of our forces, who were between the ſunriſing and the enemy, ſo that if a man put up his head or hand they could ſee it, and would fire at it: However ſome, with the Major, got up the bank behind ſtumps and rocks, to have the advantage of firing at the enemy; but when the ſun was riſen the Major ſlipp'd down the bank again, where all the forces were ordered to obſerve his motion, viz. That he would give three ſhouts, and then all of them ſhould run with him up the bank: So, when he had given the third ſhout, ran up the bank, and Capt. *Converſe* with him, but when the ſaid *Converſe* perceived that the forces did not follow as commanded, called to the Major and told him the forces did not follow; who, notwithſtanding the enemy fired ſmartly at him, got ſafe down the bank again,

and

and rallying the forces up the bank, ſoon put the enemy to flight; and following them ſo cloſe, that they took 13 canoes, and one luſty man, who had *Joſeph Ramſdel*'s ſcalp by his ſide, who was taken by two of our Indians, and having his deſerts was himſelf ſcalped. This being a ſhort and ſmart fight, ſome of our men were killed and ſeveral wounded. Some time after an *Engliſhman*, who was priſoner amongſt them, gave an account that our forces had killed and wounded ſeveral of the enemy, for they killed ſeveral priſoners according to cuſtom, &c.

After this action was over our forces embarked for *Piſcataqua*, and the Major went to *Wells*, and removed the Captain there, and put in Captain *Andros*, who had been with him and knew the diſcourſe left with the two old ſquaws at *Ameras-cogen*, for *Hakins* and *Worumbos* to come there in 14 days, if they had a mind to hear of their wives and children: Who did then or ſoon after come with a flag of truce to ſaid *Wells* garriſon, and had leave to come in, and more appearing came in, to the number of eight, (without any terms) being all Chief Sachems; and were very glad to hear of the women and children, *viz. Hakins* and *Worumbos*'s wives and children; who all ſaid three ſeveral times that they would never fight againſt the *Engliſh* any more, for the *French* made fools of them, *&c.* They ſaying as they did, the ſaid *Andros* let them go. Major *Church* being come to *Piſcataqua*, and two of his tranſports having the ſmall-pox on board, and ſeveral of his men having got great colds by their hard ſervice, pretended they were going to have the ſmall-pox, thinking by that means to be ſent home ſpeedily; the Major being willing to try them, went to the Gentlemen there, and deſired them to provide an houſe, for ſome of his men expected they ſhould have the ſmal-pox; who readily did, and told him, That the people belonging to it were juſt recovered of the ſmall-pox, and had been all at meeting, &c. The Major returning to his Officers ordered them

to draw out all their men that were going to have the ſmall-pox, for he had provided an hoſpital for them: So they drew out 17 men, that had, as they ſaid, all the ſymptoms of the ſmall-pox; he ordered them all to follow him, and coming to the houſe, he aſked them how they liked it? They ſaid very well. Then he told them that the people in the ſaid houſe had all had the ſmall-pox, and were recovered; and that if they went in they muſt not come out till they all had it: Whereupon they all preſently began to grow better, and to make excuſes, except one man who deſired to ſtay out till night before he went in, &c. The Major going to the Gentlemen, told them, That one thing more would work a perfect cure upon his men, which was to let them go home: Which did work a cure upon all, except one, and he had not the ſmall-pox. So he ordered the plunder ſhould be divided forthwith, and ſent away all the *Plymouth* forces. But the Gentlemen there deſired him to ſtay, and they would be aſſiſting to him in raiſing new forces, to the number of what was ſent away; and that they would ſend to *Boſton* for proviſions; which they did, and ſent Captain *Plaiſted* to the Governor and Council at *Boſton*, &c. And in the mean time the Major with thoſe Gentlemen went into all thoſe parts and raiſed a ſufficient number of men, both Officers and ſoldiers; who all met at the bank on the ſame day that Captain *Plaiſted* returned from *Boſton*; whoſe return from the *Boſton* Gentlemen was, That the *Canada* expedition had drained them ſo that they could do no more: So that Major *Church*, notwithſtanding he had been at conſiderable expences in raiſing ſaid forces to ſerve his King and country, was obliged to give them a treat and diſmiſs them: Taking his leave of them came home to *Boſton*, in the *Mary Sloop*, Mr. *Alden* Maſter, and Captain *Converſe* with him, on a Saturday; and waiting upon the Governor, and ſome of the Gentlemen in *Boſton*, they looked very ſtrange upon them, which not only troubled them, but

but put them in ſome conſternation what the matter ſhould be, that after ſo much toil and hard ſervice could not have ſo much as one pleaſant word, nor any money in their pockets; for Major *Church* had but *eight pence* left, and Captain *Converſe* none, as he ſaid afterwards. Major *Church* ſeeing two Gentlemen which he knew had money, aſked them to lend him *forty ſhillings*, telling them his neceſſity: Yet they refuſed. So being bare of money was obliged to lodge at Mr. *Alden*'s three nights; and the next Tueſday morning Captain *Converſe* came to him (not knowing each others circumſtances as yet) and ſaid he would walk with him out of town; ſo coming near *Pollard*'s at the ſouth end, they had ſome diſcourſe; that it was very hard that they ſhould part with dry lips: Major *Church* told Capt. *Converſe* that he had but *eight pence* left, and could not borrow any money to carry him home. And the ſaid *Converſe* ſaid, that he had not *a penny* left, ſo they were obliged to part without going to *Pollard*'s, &c. The ſaid Captain *Converſe* returned back into town, and the ſaid *Church* went over to *Roxbury*; and at the tavern he met with *Stephen Braton*, of *Rhode-Iſland*, a drover; who was glad to ſee him, the ſaid *Church*, and he as glad to ſee his neighbour: Whereupon Major *Church* called for an *eight-penny* tankard of drink, and let the ſaid *Braton* know his circumſtances, aſked him whether he would lend him *forty ſhillings?* He anſwered, yes: *Forty Pounds*, if he wanted it. So he thanked him, and ſaid, he would have but *forty ſhillings*; which he freely lent him: And preſently after Mr. *Church* was told that his brother *Caleb Church*, of *Watertown*, was coming with a ſpare horſe for him, having heard the night before that his brother was come in; by which means the ſaid Major *Church* got home. And for all his travel and expences in raiſing ſoldiers, and ſervice done, never had but £. 14 of *Plymouth* Gentlemen, and not *a penny* of *Boſton*, notwithſtanding he had wore out all his clothes, and run himſelf in

debt, ſo that he was obliged to ſell half a ſhare of land in *Tiverton*, for about £. 60, which is now worth £. 300 more and above what he had.

Having not been at home long before he found out the reaſon why *Boſton* Gentlemen looked ſo diſaffected on him; as you may ſee by the ſequel of two letters Major *Church* ſent to the Gentlemen in the eaſtward parts: Which are as followeth.

Briſtol, November 27, 1690.

Worthy Gentlemen,

'ACCORDING to my promiſe when with you laſt, 'I waited upon the Governor at *Boſton*, upon the 'Saturday, Capt. *Converſe* being with me. The Gover-'nor informed us that the Council was to meet on the 'Monday following in the afternoon, at which time we 'both there waited upon them, and gave them an account 'of the ſtate of your country, and great neceſſities. They 'informed us, that their General Court was to convene 'the Wedneſday following, at which time they would 'debate and conſider of the matter; myſelf being bound 'home, Captain *Converſe* was ordered to wait upon them, 'and bring you their reſolves. I then took notice of the 'Council that they looked upon me with an ill aſpect, 'not judging me worthy to receive thanks for the ſer-'vice I had done in your parts; nor as much as aſked me 'whether I wanted money to bear my expences, or a 'horſe to carry me home. But I was forced, for want of 'money (being far from friends) to go to *Roxbury* on 'foot; but meeting there with a *Rhode-Iſland* Gentleman, 'acquainted him of my wants, who tendered me *Ten 'Pounds*, whereby I was accommodated for my journey 'home: And being come home, I went to the miniſter 'of our town, and gave him an account of the tranſac-'tions of the great affairs I had been employed in, and 'of the great favour God was pleaſed to ſhew me, and 'my company, and the benefit I hoped would accrue to

'your-

'yourſelves; and deſired him to return public thanks; 'but at the ſame interim of time a paper was preſented 'unto him from a Court of *Plymouth*, which was holden 'before I came home, to command a day of humiliation 'thro' the whole government, becauſe of the frown of 'God upon thoſe forces ſent under my command, and the 'ill ſucceſs we had, for want of good conduct. All which 'was cauſed by thoſe falſe reports, which were poſted 'home by thoſe ill affected Officers that were under my 'conduct; eſpecially one which yourſelves very well 'know, who had the advantage of being at home a week 'before me, being ſick of action, and wanting the ad-'vantage to be at the bank, which he every day was 'mindful of more than fighting the enemy in their own 'country.

'After I came home, being informed of a General 'Court at *Plymouth*, and not forgetting my faithful pro-'miſe to you, and the duty I lay under, I went thither, 'where, waiting upon them, I gave them an account of 'my eaſtward tranſactions, and made them ſenſible of 'the falſeneſs of thoſe reports that were poſted to them 'by ill hands, and found ſome ſmall favourable accept-'ance with them, ſo far that I was credited. I pre-'ſented your thanks to them for their ſeaſonably ſending 'thoſe forces to relieve you, with that expence and charge 'they had been at; which thanks they gratefully receiv-'ed; and ſaid a few lines from yourſelves would have 'been well accepted. I then gave them an account of 'your great neceſſities, by being impriſoned in your gar-'riſons, and the great miſchief that would attend the 'public concerns of this country by the loſs of their Ma-'jeſties intereſt, and ſo much good eſtate of yours and 'your neighbours, as doubtleſs would be on the deſert-'ing of your town. I then moved for a free contribu-'tion for your relief, which they with great forwardneſs 'promoted; and then ordered a day of thankſgiving

'thro' the government upon the 26th day of this inſtant.
'Upon which day a collection was ordered for your re-
'lief (and the places near adjacent) in every reſpective
'town in this government; and for the good manage-
'ment of it that it might be ſafely conveyed unto your
'hands, they appointed a man in each county for the re-
'ceipt and conveyance thereof. The perſons nominated
'and accepted thereof, are: For the county of *Plymouth*,
'Captain *Nathaniel Thomas* of *Marſhfield*: For the coun-
'ty of *Barnſtable*, Captain *Joſeph Lathrop* of *Barnſtable*:
'And for the county of *Briſtol*, myſelf. Which, when
'gathered you will have a particular account from each
'perſon, with orders of advice how it may be diſpoſed of
'for your beſt advantage, with a copy of the Court's or-
'der. The Gentlemen the effects are to be ſent to are
'yourſelves that I now write to, viz. *John Wheelwright*,
'Eſq; Capt. *John Littlefield*, and Lieutenant *Joſeph Story*.
'I defer'd writing, expecting every day to hear from you
'concerning the Indians, coming to treat about their pri-
'ſoners that we had taken. The diſcourſe I made with
'them at *Ameras-cogen*, I knew would have that effect
'as to bring them to a treaty, which I would have thought
'myſelf happy to have been improved in, knowing that
'it would have made much for your good. But no in-
'telligence coming to me from any Gentlemen in your
'parts, and hearing nothing but by accident, and that in
'the latter end of the week by ſome of ours coming from
'*Boſton*, informed me that the Indians were come into
'your town to ſeek for peace; and that there was to be a
'treaty ſpeedily; but the time they knew not. I took
'my horſe, and upon the Monday ſet out for *Boſton*, ex-
'pecting the treaty had been at your town, as rationally
'it ſhould; but on Tueſday night coming to *Boſton*,
'there met with Captain *Eliſha Andros*, who informed me
'that the place of treaty was *Sacaty-hock*, and that Cap-
'tain *Alden* was gone from *Boſton* four days before I came
'there,

' there, and had carried all the Indian priſoners with him,
' and that all the forces were drawn away out of your
' parts, except 12 men in your town, and 12 in *Piſcata-*
' *qua*, which news did ſo amuſe me, to ſee that wiſdom
' was taken from the wiſe, and ſuch imprudence in their
' actions, as to be deluded by Indians; and to have a
' treaty ſo far from any *Engliſh* town, and to draw off the
' forces upon what pretence ſoever, to me looks very ill.
' My fear is that they will deliver thoſe we have taken,
' which, if kept, would have been greatly for your ſecu-
' rity, in keeping them in awe, and preventing them from
' doing any hoſtile action or miſchief, I knowing that the
' *Engliſh* being abroad are very earneſt to go home, and
' the Indians are very tedious in their diſcourſes, and by
' that means will have an advantage to have their captives
' at very low rates, to your great damage. Gentlemen,
' as to *Rhode-Iſland*, I have not concerned myſelf as to
' any relief for you, having nothing in writing to ſhow
' to them, yet upon diſcourſe with ſome Gentlemen there,
' they have ſignified a great forwardneſs to promote ſuch
' a thing. I lying under great reflections from ſome of
' yours in the eaſtward parts, that I was a very cove-
' tuous perſon, and came there to enrich myſelf, and that
' I killed their cattle and barreled them up, and ſent them
' to *Boſton*, and ſold them for plunder, and made mo-
' ney to put into my own pocket; and the owners of them
' being poor people begged for the hides and tallow, with
' tears in their eyes; and that I was ſo cruel as to deny
' them; which makes me judge myſelf incapable to ſerve
' you in that matter: Yet I do aſſure you that the people
' are very charitable at the iſland, and forward in ſuch
' good actions, and therefore adviſe you to deſire ſome
' good ſubſtantial perſon to take the management of it,
' and write to the government there, which I know will
' not be labour loſt. As for what I am accuſed of, you
' all can witneſs to the contrary, and I ſhould take it very

'kindly from you to do me that juſt right, as to vindi-
'cate my reputation; for the wiſe man ſays, *A good*
'*name is as precious ointment.* When I hear of the effects
'of the treaty, and have an account of this contribution,
'I intend again to write to you, being very deſirous, and
'ſhould think myſelf very happy, to be favoured with a
'few lines from yourſelves, or any Gentleman in the eaſt-
'ward parts. Thus leaving you to the protection and
'guidance of the Great God of Heaven and Earth, who
'is able to protect and ſupply you in your great difficul-
'ties, and to give you deliverance in his own due time;

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your moſt aſſured friend to ſerve you to my utmoſt power,

Benjamin Church.

'*Poſtſcript.* Eſquire *Wheelwright*, Sir, I entreat you,
'after your peruſal of theſe lines, to communicate the
'ſame to Captain *John Littlefield*, Lieutenant *Joſeph Sto-*
'*ry*; and to any other Gentlemen, as in your judgment
'you ſee fit: With the tenders of my reſpects to you,
'*&c.* and to Major *Vaughan*, and his good Lady and fa-
'mily. To Captain *Fryer* and good Mrs. *Fryer*, with
'hearty thanks for their kindneſs whilſt in thoſe parts,
'and good entertainment from them. My kind reſpects
'to Maj. *Froſt*, Capt. *Walton*, Lieut. *Honeywel*, and my
'very good friend little Lieut. *Plaiſted:* With due reſpects
'to all Gentlemen my friends in the eaſtward parts, as if
'particularly named. *Farewell.* *B. C.*

To Major Pike.

Honored Sir, Briſtol, Nov. 27, 1690.

THESE come to wait upon you, to bring the tenders of my hearty ſervice to yourſelf and lady, with due acknowledgment of thankfulneſs for all the kindneſs and favour I received from you in the eaſtward parts, when with you. Since I came from thoſe parts, I am informed, by Capt. Andros, *that yourſelf and moſt all the forces, are drawn off from*

from the eaſtward parts; I admire at it, conſidering that they had ſo low eſteem of what was done, that they can apprehend the eaſtward parts ſo ſafe before the enemy were brought into better ſubjection. I was in hopes, when I came from thence, that thoſe who were ſo deſirous to have my room, would have been very briſk in my abſence, to have got themſelves ſome honor, which they very much gaped after, or elſe they would not have ſpread ſo many falſe reports to defame me: Which had I known, before I left the bank, I would have had ſatisfaction of them. Your honor was pleaſed to give me ſome ſmall account, before I left the bank, of ſome things that were ill repreſented to you, concerning the eaſtward expedition, which being rolled home like a ſnow-ball through both colonies, was got to ſuch a bigneſs that it overſhadowed me from the influence of all comfort, or good acceptance amongſt my friends in my journey homeward. But thro' God's goodneſs am come home, finding all well, and myſelf in good health, hoping that thoſe reports will do me the favour, to quit me from all other public actions; that ſo I may the more peaceably and quietly wait upon God, and be a comfort to my own family, in this dark time of trouble; being as one hid, till his indignation is overpaſt. I ſhall take it as a great favour to hear of your welfare: Subſcribing myſelf, as I am, Sir, Your moſt aſſured friend and ſervant,

Benjamin Church.

Major *Church* did receive, after this, anſwers to his letters, but hath loſt them, except it be a letter from ſeveral of the gentlemen in thoſe parts, in *June* following; which is as followeth:

Portſmouth, June 29, 1691.

Major *Benj. Church*,

SIR,

YOUR former readineſs to expoſe yourſelf in the ſervice of the country, againſt the common enemy; and particularly the late obligations you have laid upon us, in

theſe

theſe eaſtern parts, leaves us under a deep and grateful ſenſe of your favour therein: And foraſmuch as you was pleaſed, when laſt here, to ſignify your ready inclination to further ſervice of this kind, if occaſion ſhould call for it: We therefore preſume confidently to promiſe ourſelves compliance accordingly; and have ſent this meſſenger on purpoſe to you, to let you know, that notwithſtanding the late overture of peace, the enemy have approved themſelves as perfidious as ever, and are almoſt daily killing and deſtroying upon all our frontiers: The Governor and Council of the Maſſachuſetts *have been pleaſed to order the raiſing of* 150 *men, to be forthwith deſpatched into thoſe parts; and, as we underſtand have writ to your Governor and Council of* Plymouth *for further aſſiſtance, which we pray you to promote, hoping if you can obtain about* 200 *men,* Engliſh *and Indians, to viſit them at ſome of their head quarters, up* Kennebeck *river, or elſewhere, which (for want of neceſſaries) was omitted laſt year, it may be of great advantage to us. We offer nothing of advice as to what methods are moſt proper to be taken in this affair, your acquaintance with our circumſtances as well as the enemies, will direct you therein: We leave the conduct thereof to your own diſcretion; but that the want of proviſion,* &c. *may be no* remora *to your motion, you may pleaſe to know Mr.* Geafford, *one of our principal inhabitants, now reſiding in* Boſton, *hath promiſed to take care to ſupply to the value of two or three hundred pounds, if occaſion require: We pray a few lines by the bearer to give us a proſpect of what we may expect for our further encouragement, and remain,*

Sir, Your obliged friends and ſervants,

Will. Vaughan, Richard Martyn, Nathaniel Fryer, William Fernald, Francis Hooke, Charles Froſt, John Wincol, Robert Elliott.

A true copy of the original letter; which letter was preſented to me by Captain Hatch, *who came expreſs.*

Major

Major *Church* ſent them his anſwer: The contents whereof was, That he had gone often enough for nothing; and eſpecially to be ill treated with ſcandals and falſe reports, when laſt out, which he could not forget. And ſignified to them, That doubtleſs ſome amongſt them thought they could do without him, *&c.* And to make ſhort of it, did go out, and meeting with the enemy at *Maquait*, were moſt ſhamefully beaten, as I have been informed.

The Third EXPEDITION Eaſt.

THIS was in the year 1692. In the time of Sir *William Phips*'s government: Major *Walley* being at *Boſton*, was requeſted by his Excellency to treat with Major *Church* about going Eaſt with him. Major *Walley* coming home, did as deſired; and to encourage the ſaid Major *Church*, told him, That now was the time to have recompence for his former great expences; ſaying alſo, That the country could not give him leſs than two or three hundred pounds. So upon his Excellency's requeſt Maj. *Church* went down to *Boſton*, and waited upon him; who ſaid he was glad to ſee him, *&c.* And after ſome diſcourſe told the ſaid *Church*, That he was going Eaſt himſelf, and that he ſhould be his ſecond, and in his abſence command all the forces: And being requeſted by his Excellency to raiſe what volunteers he could of his old ſoldiers in the county of *Briſtol*, both *Engliſh* and Indians, received his commiſſion: Which is as followeth.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, *Knight, Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over his Majeſty's province of the* Maſſachuſett's-Bay, *in* New-England:

To BENJAMIN CHURCH, *Gent. Greeting.*

'REPOSING ſpecial truſt and confidence in your 'loyalty, courage and good conduct: I do by

'theſe

'theſe preſents conſtitute and appoint you to be Major
'of the ſeveral companies of militia, detached for their
'Majeſties ſervice againſt their *French* and Indian ene-
'mies. You are therefore authorized and required in
'their Majeſties names, to diſcharge the duty of a Major,
'by leading, ordering and exerciſing the ſaid ſeveral com-
'panies in arms, both inferior Officers and ſoldiers, keep-
'ing them in good order and diſcipline, commanding
'them to obey you as their Major: And diligently to
'intend the ſaid ſervice, for the proſecuting, purſuing,
'killing and deſtroying of the ſaid common enemy. And
'yourſelf to obſerve and follow ſuch orders and direc-
'tions as you ſhall from time to time receive from myſelf,
'according to the rules and diſcipline of war, purſuant
'to the truſt repoſed in you for their Majeſties ſervice.
'Given under my hand and ſeal at *Boſton*, the twenty-
'fifth day of *July* 1692. In the fourth year of the reign
'of our Sovereign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by
'the grace of GOD, King and Queen of *England*, *Scot-
'land*, *France* and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, *&c.*

WILLIAM PHIPS.

By his Excellency's command,
Iſaac Addington, Secr.

Returning home to the county aforeſaid, he ſoon raiſed a ſufficient number of volunteers, both *Engliſh* and Indians, and Officers ſuitable to command them, marched them down to *Boſton*. But there was one thing I would juſt mention; which was, That Major *Church*, being ſhort of money, was forced to borrow ſix pounds in money of Lieutenant *Woodman*, in *Little-Compton*, to diſtribute by a ſhilling, and a bit at a time to the Indian ſoldiers; who, without ſuch allurements, would not have marched to *Boſton*. This Money Major *Church* put into the hands of Mr. *William Fobes*, who was going out their commiſſary in that ſervice, who was ordered to keep a juſt account of what each Indian had, ſo that it might be

deducted

deducted out of their wages at their return home. Coming to *Boſton*, his Excellency having got things in a readineſs, they embarked on board their tranſports, his Excellency going in perſon with them, being bound to *Pemequid*; but in their way ſtopped at *Caſco*, and buried the bones of the dead people there, and took off the great guns that were there; then went to *Pemequid:* Coming there his Excellency aſked Major *Church* to go aſhore and give his judgment about erecting a fort there? He anſwered, That his genius did not incline that way, for he never had any value for them, being only neſts for deſtructions: His Excellency ſaid, He had a ſpecial order from their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to erect a fort there, *&c.* Then they went aſhore and ſpent ſome time in the projection thereof. Then his Excellency told Major *Church* that he might take all the forces with him, except one company to ſtay with him, and work about the fort; the Major anſwered, that if his Excellency pleaſed he might keep two companies with him, and he would go with the reſt to *Penobſcot*, and places adjacent. Which his Excellency did, and gave Major *Church* his orders, which are as followeth.

By his Excellency Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, *Knight, Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over their Majeſties province of the* Maſſachuſett's-Bay, *in* New-England, *&c.*

INSTRUCTIONS *for Major* Benjamin Church.

'WHEREAS you are Major, and ſo chief Officer, of 'a body of men detached out of the militia appointed for an expedition againſt the *French* and Indian 'enemy; you are duly to obſerve the following inſtructions:

'*Imprimis*, You are to take care that the worſhip of 'God be duly and conſtantly maintained and kept up a'mongſt you; and to ſuffer no ſwearing, curſing, or other

'profanation

'profanation of the holy name of God; and, as much as 'in you lies, to deter and hinder all other vices amongſt 'your ſoldiers.

'2*dly*, You are to proceed, with the ſoldiers under your 'command, to *Penobſcot*, and, with what privacy and un-'diſcoverable methods you can, there to land your men, 'and take the beſt meaſures to ſurpriſe the enemy.

'3*dly*, You are, by killing, deſtroying, and all other 'means poſſible, to endeavour the deſtruction of the ene-'my, in purſuance whereof, being ſatisfied of your cou-'rage and conduct, I leave the ſame to your diſcretion.

'4*thly*, You are to endeavour the taking what cap-'tives you can, either men, women or children, and the 'ſame ſafely to keep and convey them unto me.

'5*thly*, Since it is not poſſible to judge how affairs may 'be circumſtanced with you there, I ſhall therefore not 'limit your return, but leave it to your prudence, only 'that you make no longer ſtay than you can improve for 'advantage againſt the enemy, or may reaſonably hope 'for the ſame.

'6*thly*, You are alſo to take care and be very indu-'ſtrious by all poſſible means to find out and deſtroy all 'the enemies corn, and other proviſions in all places 'where you can come at the ſame.

'7*thly*, You are to return from *Penobſcot* and thoſe 'eaſtern parts, to make all deſpatch hence for *Kennebeck* 'river, and the places adjacent, and there proſecute all 'advantages againſt the enemy as aforeſaid.

'8*thly*, If any ſoldier, Officer, or other ſhall be diſ-'obedient to you as their Commander in Chief, or other 'their ſuperior Officer, or make, or cauſe any mutiny, 'commit other offence or diſorders, you ſhall call a coun-'cil of war amongſt your Officers, and having tried him 'or them ſo offending, inflict ſuch puniſhment as the me-'rit of the offence requires, death only excepted, which,

'if

' if any ſhall deſerve, you are to ſecure the perſon, and ' ſignify the crime unto me by the firſt opportunity.

Given under my hand this 11th day of Auguſt, 1692.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then the Major and his forces embarked, and made the beſt of their way to *Penobſcot*; and coming to an iſland in thoſe parts in the evening, landed his forces at one end of the ſaid iſland: Then the Major took part of his forces, and moved toward day to the other end of the ſaid iſland, where they found two *Frenchmen*, and their families in their houſes; and that one or both of them had Indian women to their wives, and had children by them. The Major preſently examining the *Frenchmen*, where the Indians were? They told him, that there was a great company of them upon an iſland juſt by; and ſhowing him the iſland, preſently diſcovered ſeveral of them. Major *Church* and his forces ſtill keeping undiſcovered to them, aſked the *Frenchmen* where their paſſing place was? Which they readily ſhowed them; ſo preſently they placed an ambuſcade to take any that ſhould come over. Then ſent orders for all the reſt of the forces to come; ſending them an account of what he had ſeen and met withal; ſtrictly charging them to keep themſelves undiſcovered by the enemy. The ambuſcade did not lie long before an Indian man and woman came over in a canoe, to the place for landing, where the ambuſcade was laid, who haled up their canoe, and came right into the hands of our ambuſcade, who ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed them that they could not give any notice to the others from whence they came; the Major ordering that none of his ſhould offer to meddle with the canoe, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered, hoping to take the moſt of them if his forces came as ordered, he expecting them to come as directed; but the firſt news he had of them was, That they were all coming, though not privately, as ordered; but the veſſels fair in ſight of the enemy, which ſoon put them all to flight; and

and our forces not having boats ſuitable to purſue them, they got all away in their canoes, &c. (which cauſed Major *Church* to ſay, he would never go out again without ſufficient number of whale-boats) which for want of was the ruin of that action. Then Major *Church*, according to his inſtructions, ranged all thoſe parts, to find all their corn, and carried aboard their veſſels what he thought convenient, and deſtroyed the reſt. Alſo finding conſiderable quantities of plunder, *viz.* beaver, mooſe-ſkins, *&c.* Having done what ſervice they could in thoſe parts, he returned back to his Excellency at *Pemequid*; where being come, ſtaid not long, they being ſhort of bread, his Excellency intended home for *Boſton*, for more proviſions; but before, going with Major *Church* and his forces to *Kennebeck* river, and coming there, gave him further orders, which are as followeth:

By his Excellency the Governor.

To Major BENJAMIN CHURCH.

'YOU having already received former inſtructions, 'are now further to proceed with the ſoldiers under your command for *Kennebeck* river, and the places 'adjacent, and uſe your utmoſt endeavours to kill, deſtroy and take captive the *French* and Indian enemy 'whereſoever you ſhall find any of them; and at your return to *Pemequid* (which you are to do as ſoon as you 'can conveniently; after your beſt endeavour done againſt 'the enemy, and having deſtroyed their corn and other 'proviſions) you are to ſtay with all your ſoldiers and Officers, and ſet them to work on the fort, and make what 'deſpatch you can in that buſineſs, ſtaying there until my 'further order. *WILLIAM PHIPS.*

Then his Excellency taking leave went for *Boſton*, and ſoon after Major *Church* and his forces had a ſmart fight with the enemy in *Kennebeck* river, purſued them ſo hard that they left their canoes, and ran up into the woods, ſtill purſued them up to their fort at *Taconock*, which the ene-

my

my perceiving ſet fire to their houſes in the fort, and ran away by the light of them, and when Major *Church* came to the ſaid fort found about half their houſes ſtanding and the reſt burnt; alſo found great quantities of corn, put up into Indian cribs, which he and his forces deſtroyed, as ordered.

Having done what ſervice he could in thoſe parts, returned to *Pemequid*, and coming there employed his forces according to his inſtructions. Being out of bread, his Excellency not coming, Major *Church* was obliged to borrow bread of the Captain of the man of war that was then there, for all the forces under his command, his Excellency not coming as expected; but at length his Excellency came and brought very little bread more than would pay what was borrowed of the man of war: So that in a ſhort time after Major *Church*, with his forces, returned home to *Boſton*, and had their wages for their good ſervice done. Only one thing by the way I will juſt mention, that is, about the Six Pounds Major *Church* borrowed as afore-mentioned, and put into the hands of Mr. *Fobes*, who diſtributed the ſaid money, all but *thirty ſhillings*, to the Indian ſoldiers, as directed, which was deducted out of their wages, and the country had credit for the ſame; and the ſaid *Fobes* kept the 30*ſ.* to himſelf, which was deducted out of his Wages. Whereupon Maj. *Walley* and ſaid *Fobes* had ſome words. In ſhort, Maj. *Church* was obliged to expend about *ſix pounds* of his own money in marching down the forces both *Engliſh* and Indians, to *Boſton*, having no drink allowed them upon the road, *&c.* So that inſtead of Major *Church*'s having the allowances afore-mentioned by Major *Walley*, he was out of pocket about *twelve pounds* over and above what he had; all which had not been had not his Excellency been gone out of the country.

The 4th EXPEDITION East.

IN 1696 Major *Church* being at *Boſton*, and belonging to the Houſe of Repreſentatives, ſeveral Gentlemen requeſting him to go Eaſt again, and the General Court having made acts of encouragement, &c. He told them, if they would provide whale-boats, and other neceſſaries convenient, he would: Being alſo requeſted by the ſaid General Court, he proceeded to raiſe volunteers, and made it his whole buſineſs, riding both eaſt and weſt in our province and *Connecticut*, at great charge and expences; and in about a month's time raiſed a ſufficient number out of thoſe parts, and marched them down to *Boſton*; where he had the promiſe that every thing ſhould be ready in three weeks or a month's time, but was obliged to ſtay conſiderably longer. Being now at *Boſton*, he received his commiſſion and inſtructions; which are as followeth.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, *Eſquire, Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majeſty's province of the* Maſſachuſetts-Bay, *in* New-England:

To Major BENJAMIN CHURCH, *Greeting.*

WHEREAS *there are ſeveral companies raiſed, conſiſting of* Engliſhmen *and Indians, for his Majeſty's ſervice, to go forth upon the encouragement given by the Great and General Court, or Aſſembly of this his Majeſty's province, convened at* Boſton, *the 27th day of* May, 1696, *to proſecute the* French *and Indian enemy*, &c. *And you having offered yourſelf to take the command and conduct of the ſaid ſeveral companies: By virtue therefore of the power and authority in and by his Majeſty's royal commiſſion to me granted, repoſing ſpecial truſt and confidence in your loyalty, prudence, courage and good conduct: I do by theſe preſents conſtitute and appoint you to be Major of the ſaid ſeveral companies, both* Engliſhmen *and Indians, raiſed*

for

for his Majeſty's ſervice upon the encouragement aforeſaid. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the duty of your place, by leading, ordering, and exerciſing the ſaid ſeveral companies in arms, both inferior Officers and ſoldiers, keeping them in good order and diſcipline, commanding them to obey you as their Major. And yourſelf diligently to intend his Majeſty's ſervice for the proſecuting, purſuing, taking, killing or deſtroying the ſaid enemy by ſea or land; and to obſerve all ſuch orders and inſtructions as you ſhall from time to time receive from myſelf, or Commander in Chief for the time being, according to the rules and diſcipline of war, purſuant to the truſt repoſed in you. Given under my hand and ſeal at arms, at Boſton, *the third day of* Auguſt, 1696, *in the eighth year of the reign of our ſovereign Lord* William *the Third, by the grace of God, of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith,* &c.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

By command of the Lieut. Gov. &c.
Iſaac Addington, Secr.

Province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay.

By the Right Honorable the Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief.

INSTRUCTIONS for Major Benjamin Church, *Commander of the forces raiſed for his Majeſty's ſervice, againſt the* French *and Indian enemy and rebels.*

PURSUANT to the commiſſion given you, you are to embark the forces now furniſhed and equipped for his Majeſty's ſervice on the preſent expedition, to the eaſtern parts of this province, and with them, and ſuch others as ſhall offer themſelves to go forth on the ſaid ſervice, to ſail unto Piſcataqua, *to join thoſe lately deſpatched thither for the ſame expedition, to await your coming: And with all care and diligence to improve the veſſels, boats and men under your command, in ſearch for, proſecution and purſuit of the ſaid enemy, at ſuch places where you may be informed of*

their abode or reſort, or where you may probably expect to find, or meet with them, and take all advantages againſt them which Providence ſhall favour you with.

You are not to liſt or accept any ſoldiers that are already in his Majeſty's pay, and poſted at any town or garriſon within this province, without ſpecial order from myſelf.

You are to require and give ſtrict orders that the duties of religion be attended on board the ſeveral veſſels, and in the ſeveral companies under your command, by daily prayers unto God, and reading his holy word, and obſervance of the Lord's Day, to the utmoſt you can.

You are to ſee that your ſoldiers have their due allowance of proviſions and other neceſſaries, and that the ſick or wounded be accommodated in the beſt manner your circumſtances will admit. And that good order and command may be kept up and maintained in the ſeveral companies, and all diſorders, drunkenneſs, profane curſing, ſwearing, diſobedience to Officers, mutinies, omiſſions or neglect of duty, be duly puniſhed according to the laws martial. And you are to require the Captain or chief Officer of each company, with the clerk of the ſame, to keep an exact journal of all their proceedings from time to time.

In caſe any of the Indian enemy and rebels offer to ſubmit themſelves, you are to receive them only at diſcretion; but if you think fit to improve any of them, or any others which you may happen to take priſoners, you may encourage them to be faithful by the promiſe of their lives, which ſhall be granted upon approbation of their fidelity.

You are carefully to look after the Indians which you have out of the priſon, ſo that they may not have opportunity to eſcape, but otherwiſe improve them to what advantage you can, and return them back again to this place.

You are to adviſe, as you can have occaſion, with Captain John Gorham, *who accompanies you in this expedition, and is to take your command in caſe of your death. A copy of theſe*

inſtructions

inſtructions you are to leave with him, and to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Boſton, Auguſt *12th*, 1696.

In the time Major *Church* lay at *Boſton*, the news came of *Pemequid* fort being taken; it came by a ſhallop that brought ſome priſoners to *Boſton*, who gave an account alſo that there was a *French* ſhip at *Mount-Deſart*, who had taken a ſhip of ours; ſo the diſcourſe was that they would ſend the man of war, with other forces to take the ſaid French ſhip, and retake ours. But in the mean time Major *Church* and his forces being ready, embarked, and on the 15th day of *Auguſt* ſet ſail for *Piſcataqua*, where more men were to join them, (but before they left *Boſton*, Major *Church* diſcourſed with the Captain of the man of war, who promiſed him, if he went to *Mount-Deſart*, in purſuit of the *French* ſhip, that he would call for him and his forces at *Piſcataqua*, expecting that the *French* and Indians might not be far from the ſaid *French* ſhip, ſo that he might have an opportunity to fight them while he was engaged with the *French* ſhip:) Soon after the forces arrived at *Piſcataqua*, the Major ſent his Indian ſoldiers to Colonel *Gidney*, at *York*, to be aſſiſting for the defence of thoſe places; who gave them a good commend for their ready and willing ſervices done, in ſcouting, and the like. Lying at *Piſcataqua* with the reſt of our forces near a week, waiting for more forces who were to join them, to make up their complement; in all which time heard never a word of the man of war. On the 22d of *Auguſt* they all embarked for *Piſcataqua*, and when they came againſt *York*, the Major went aſhore, ſending Capt. *Gorham* with ſome forces, in two brigantines and a ſloop, to *Winter-Harbour*, ordering him to ſend out ſcouts, to ſee if they could make any diſcovery of the enemy, and to wait there till he came to them. Major *Church* coming

to *York*, Col. *Gidney* told him his opinion was, That the enemy was drawn off from thoſe parts, for that the ſcouts could not diſcover any of them, nor their tracks. So having done his buſineſs there, went, with what forces he had there, to *Winter-Harbour*, where he had the ſame account from Captain *Gorham*, That they had not diſcovered any of the enemy, nor any new tracks: So, concluding they were gone from thoſe parts towards *Penobſcot*, the Major ordered all the veſſels to come to ſail and make the beſt of their way to *Monhegin*, which being not far from *Penobſcot*, where the main body of our enemies living was; being in great hopes to come up with the army of *French* and Indians, before they had ſcattered and were gone paſt *Penobſcot*, or *Mount-Deſart*, which is the chief place of their departure from each other after ſuch actions; and having a fair wind made the beſt of their way, and early next morning they got into *Monhegin*, and there lay all day fitting their boats, and other neceſſaries to embark in the night at *Muſſel-neck* with their boats; lying there all day to keep undiſcovered from the enemy; at night the Major ordered the veſſels all to come to ſail, and carry the forces over the bay, near *Penobſcot*; but having little wind, he ordered all the ſoldiers to embark on board the boats with eight day's proviſion, and ſent the veſſels back to *Monhegin*, that they might not be diſcovered by the enemy; giving them orders when and where they ſhould come to him. The forces being all ready in their boats, rowing very hard, got aſhore at a point near *Penobſcot*, juſt as the day broke, and hid their boats, and keeping a good look-out by ſea, and ſent ſcouts out by land; but could not diſcover either canoes or Indians; what tracks and fire-places they ſaw were judged to be ſeven or eight days before they came: As ſoon as night came, that they might go undiſcovered, got into their boats, and went by *Muſſel-neck*, and ſo amongſt *Penobſcot* Iſlands, looking very ſharp as they went for fires on the ſhore, and for canoes, but

but found neither; getting up to *Mathebeſtucks* hills, day coming on, landed, and hid their boats; looking out for the enemy, as the day before, but to little purpoſe. Night coming on, to their oars again, working very hard, turn'd the night into day; made ſeveral of their new ſoldiers grumble: But telling them they hoped to come up quickly with the enemy, put new life into them; and by daylight they got into the mouth of the river, where landing, found many rendezvous and fire places where the Indians had been; but at the ſame ſpace of time, as before-mentioned. And no canoes paſſed up the river that day. Their pilot, *Joſeph York*, informed the Major that 50 or 60 miles up that river, at the great falls, the enemy had a great rendezvous, and planted a great quantity of corn, when he was a priſoner with them, four years ago, and that he was very well acquainted there; this gave great encouragement to have had ſome conſiderable advantage of the enemy at that place; ſo uſing their utmoſt endeavours to get up there undiſcovered, and coming there found no enemy, nor corn planted, they having deſerted the place. And ranging about the falls on both ſides of the river, leaving men on the eaſt ſide of the ſaid river, and the boats juſt below the falls, with a good guard to ſecure them, and to take the enemy if they came down the river in their canoes. The weſt ſide being the place where the enemy lived and beſt to travel on, they reſolved to range as privately as they could, a mile or two above the falls diſcovered a birch canoe coming down with two Indians in it, the Major ſent word immediately back to thoſe at the falls, to lie very cloſe, and let them paſs down the falls, and to take them alive, that he might have intelligence where the enemy was (which would have been a great advantage to them;) but a fooliſh ſoldier ſeeing them paſſing by him, ſhot at them, contrary to orders given, which prevented them going into the ambuſcade that was laid for them; whereupon ſeveral more of-

our men being near, ſhot at them; ſo that one of them could not ſtand when he got aſhore, but crept away into the bruſh, the other ſtepped out of the canoe with his paddle in his hand, and ran about a rod, and then threw down his paddle, and turned back and took up his gun, and ſo eſcaped. One of our Indians ſwam over the river, and fetched the canoe, wherein was a conſiderable quantity of blood on the ſeats, that the Indians ſat on; the canoe having ſeveral holes ſhot in her: They ſtopt the holes, and then Capt. *Bracket*, with an Indian ſoldier, went over the river, who track'd them by the blood about half a mile, found his gun, took it up, and ſeeing the blood no further, concluded that he ſtop'd his blood, and ſo got away. In the mean time another canoe with three men were coming down the river, were fired at by ſome of our forces, ran aſhore, and left two of their guns in the canoe, which were taken, and alſo a letter from a Prieſt to *Caſteen*, that gave him an account of the *French* and Indians returning over the lake to *Mount-Royal*, and of their little ſervice done upon the *Maquas* Indians weſtward, only demoliſhing one fort, and cutting down ſome corn, *&c.* He deſiring to hear of the proceedings of *Deborahuel*, and the *French* man of war; and informed him that there were ſeveral canoes coming with work-men from *Quebec*, to *St. John's*, where ſince we concluded it was to build a fort at the river's mouth, where the great guns were taken, &c. It being juſt night, the Officers were called together to adviſe, and their pilot *York* informed them of a fort up that river, and that it was built on a little iſland in that river; and that there was no getting to it but in canoes, or on the ice in the winter time: This, with the certain knowledge that we were diſcovered by the enemy that eſcaped out of the upper canoe, concluded it not proper, at that time, to proceed any further up, and that there was no getting any further with our boats; and the enemy being alarmed would certainly fly from them (and do as they did

did four years ago at their fort at *Taconock*; having fought them in *Kennebeck* river, and purſued them about thirty miles to *Taconock*; for they then ſet their fort on fire, and run away by the light of it, ours not being able to come up with them at that place.) Major *Church* then encouraging his ſoldiers, told them, he hoped they ſhould meet with part of the enemy, in *Penobſcot-Bay*, or at *Mount-Deſart*, where the *French* ſhips were. So notwithſtanding they had been rowing ſeveral nights before, with much toil, beſides were ſhort of proviſions, they cheerfully embarked on board their boats, and went down the river, both with and againſt the tide: And next morning came to their veſſels, where the Major had ordered them to meet him, who could give him no intelligence of any enemy. Where being come they refreſh'd themſelves; meeting then with another diſappointment, for their pilot *York* not being acquainted any further, they began to lament the loſs of one *Robert Cawley*, who they chiefly depended on for all the ſervice to be done now eaſtward: He having been taken away from them the night before they ſet ſail from *Boſton* (and was on board Mr. *Thorp*'s ſloop) and put on board the man of war, unknown to Major *Church*; notwithſtanding he had been at the charge and trouble of procuring him. Then the Major was obliged to one *Bord*, procured by Mr. *William Alden*, who being acquainted in thoſe parts, to leave his veſſel, and go with him in the boats, which he readily complied with, and ſo went to *Naſket-point*; where being informed was a likely place to meet with the enemy; coming there found ſeveral houſes and ſmall fields of corn, the fires having been out ſeveral days, and no new tracks. But upon *Penobſcot* iſland they found ſeveral Indian houſes, corn and turnips, tho' the enemy ſtill being all gone, as before-mentioned. Then they divided and ſent their boats ſome one way, and ſome another, thinking that if any ſtraggling Indians, or *Caſteen* himſelf, ſhould be thereabout, they might find them, but

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it proved all in vain. Himſelf and ſeveral boats went to *Mount-Deſart*, to ſee if the *French* ſhips were gone, and whether any of the enemy might be there, but to no purpoſe: The ſhips being gone, and the enemy alſo. They being now got ſeveral leagues to the weſtward of their veſſels; and ſeeing that the way was clear for their veſſels to paſs: And all their extreme rowing, and travelling by land and water, night and day, to be all in vain. The enemy having left thoſe parts, as they judged, about eight or ten days before. And then returning to their veſſels, the Commander calling all his Officers together, to conſult and reſolve what to do, concluding that the enemy, by ſome means or other, had received ſome intelligence of their being come out againſt them; and that they were in no neceſſity to come down to the ſea ſide as yet, mooſe and beaver now being fat. They then agreed to go ſo far Eaſt, and employ themſelves, that the enemy, belonging to thoſe parts, might think they were gone home. Having ſome diſcourſe about going over to *St. John*'s; but the maſters of the veſſels ſaid, he had as good carry them to *Old France*, &c. which put off that deſign, they concluding that the *French* ſhips were there. Then the Major moved for going over the bay, towards *Lahane*, and toward the gut of *Cancer*, where was another conſiderable fort of Indians, who often came to the aſſiſtance of our enemy, the barbarous Indians; ſaying, that by the time they ſhould return again, the enemy belonging to theſe parts would come down again, expecting that we are gone home. But in ſhort, could not prevail with the maſters of the open ſloops to venture acroſs the bay; who ſaid it was very dangerous ſo late in the year, and as much as their lives were worth, &c. Then they concluded and reſolved to go to *Senactaca*, wherein there was a ready compliance (but the want of their pilot, *Robert Cawley*, was a great damage to them, who knew all thoſe parts:) However, Mr. *John Alden*, maſter of the brigantine Endeavour,

deavour, piloted them up the bay to *Senactaca*; and coming to *Grinſtone-point*, being not far from *Senactaca*; then came to with all the veſſels, and early next morning came to ſail, and about ſunriſe got into town; but it being ſo late before we landed, that the enemy, moſt of them, made their eſcape, and as it happened landed where the *French* and Indians had ſome time before killed Lieutenant *John Paine*, and ſeveral of Captain *Smithſon*'s men, that were with ſaid *Paine*.) They ſeeing our forces coming took the opportunity, fired ſeveral guns, and ſo ran all into the woods, carried all or moſt part of their goods with them. One *Jarman Bridgway* came running towards our forces, with a gun in one hand, and his cartridge-box in the other, calling to our forces to ſtop, that he might ſpeak with them; but Major *Church* thinking it was that they might have ſome advantage, ordered them to run on; when the ſaid *Bridgway* ſaw they would not ſtop, turned and ran, but the Major called unto him, and bid him ſtop, or he ſhould be ſhot down; ſome of our forces being near to the ſaid *Bridgway*, ſaid it was the General that called to him: He hearing that, ſtopped and turned about, laying down his gun, ſtood, till the Major came up to him; his deſire was that the Commander would make haſte with him to his houſe, leſt the ſavages ſhould kill his father and mother, who were upward of fourſcore years of age, and could not go. The Major aſked the ſaid *Bridgway* whether there were any Indians amongſt them, and where they lived? He ſhaked his head, and ſaid, he durſt not tell, for if he did they would take an opportunity and kill him and his: So all that could be got out of him was, that they were run into the woods with the reſt. Then orders were given to purſue the enemy, and to kill what Indians they could find, and take the *French* alive, and give them quarter, if they aſked it. Our forces ſoon took three *Frenchmen*, who, upon examination, ſaid, That the Indians were all run into the woods.

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The *French* firing ſeveral guns at our forces, and ours at them; but they being better acquainted with the woods than ours, got away. The Major took the aboveſaid *Jarman Bridgway* for a pilot, and with ſome of his forces went over a river, to ſeveral of their houſes, but the people were gone and carried their goods with them: In ranging the woods found ſeveral Indian houſes, their fires being juſt out, but no Indians. Spending that day in ranging to and fro, found conſiderable of their goods, and but few people; at night the Major writ a letter, and ſent out two *French* priſoners, wherein was ſignified, That if they would come in, they ſhould have good quarters. The next day ſeveral came in, which did belong to that part of the town where our forces firſt landed, who had encouragements given them by our Commander, That if they would aſſiſt him in taking thoſe Indians which belonged to thoſe parts, they ſhould have their goods returned to them again, and their eſtates ſhould not be damnified; which they refuſed. Then the Major & his forces purſued their deſign, & went further ranging their country, found ſeveral more houſes, but the people fled, & carried what they had away; but in a creek found a prize bark, that was brought in there by a *French* privateer. In ranging the woods took ſome priſoners, who upon examination gave our Commander an account, that there were ſome Indians upon a neck of land, towards *Menes*; ſo a party of men was ſent into thoſe woods, and in their ranging about the ſaid neck found ſome plunder, and a conſiderable quantity of whortleberries, both green and dry, which were gathered by the Indians, and had like to have taken two Indians, who, by the help of a birch canoe, got over the river, and made their eſcape. Alſo they found two barrels of powder, and near half a buſhel of bullets; the *French* denying it to be theirs, ſaid they were the ſavages, but ſure it might be a ſupply for our enemies: Alſo they took from *Jarman Bridway* ſeveral barrels of powder, with

with bullets, ſhot, ſpears and knives, and other ſupplies to relieve our enemies; he owning that he had been a trading with thoſe Indians along *Cape-Sable* ſhore, with *Peter Aſſnow*, &c. in a ſloop our forces took from him; and that there he met with the *French* ſhips, and went along with them to *St. John*'s, and helped them to unload the ſaid ſhips, and carried up the river proviſions, ammunition, and other goods to *Vilboon*'s fort.

The Major having ranged all places that were thought proper, return'd back to the place where they firſt landed, and finding ſeveral priſoners come in, who were troubled to ſee their cattle, ſheep, hogs and dogs lying dead about their houſes, chopp'd and hack'd with hatchets; (which was done without order from the Major) however he told them, it was nothing to what our poor *Engliſh*, in our frontier towns, were forced to look upon; for men, women and children were chopp'd and hack'd ſo, and left half dead, with all their ſcalps taken off, and that they, and their Indians, ſerved ours ſo; and our ſavages would be glad to ſerve them ſo too, if he would permit them; which cauſed them to be mighty ſubmiſſive, and begged the Major that he would not let the ſavages ſerve them ſo. Our Indians being ſomewhat ſenſible of the diſcourſe, deſired to have ſome of them to roaſt, and ſo make a dance; and dancing in a hideous manner, to terrify them; ſaid, That they could eat any ſort of fleſh, and that ſome of theirs would make their hearts ſtrong: Stepping up to ſome of the priſoners, ſaid, They muſt have their ſcalps, which much terrified the poor priſoners, who begged for their lives. The Major told them he did not deſign the ſavages ſhould hurt them; but it was to let them ſee a little what the poor *Engliſh* felt, ſaying, It was not their ſcalps he wanted, but the ſavages, for he ſhould get nothing by them; and told them, That their fathers, the Friars and Governors, encouraged their ſavages, and gave them

them money to ſcalp our *Engliſh*, notwithſtanding they were with them; which ſeveral of our *Engliſh*, there preſent, did teſtify to their faces, that their fathers & mothers were ſerved ſo in their ſight. But the Major bid them tell their fathers the Friars, and the Governors, That if they ſtill perſiſted, and let their wretched ſavages kill and deſtroy the poor *Engliſh* at that rate, he would come with ſome hundreds of ſavages, and let them looſe amongſt them, who would kill, ſcalp, & carry away every French perſon in all thoſe parts, for they were the root from whence all the branches came that hurt us; for the Indians could not do us any harm, if they did not relieve and ſupply them. The *French* being ſenſible of the Major's kindneſs to them, kiſs'd his hand, & were very thankful to him for his favour to them in ſaving their lives; owned that their Prieſts were at the taking of *Pemequid* fort, and were now gone to *Layhone*, with ſome of the Indians, to meet the French ſhips, but for what they would not tell. The Commander, with his forces, having done all they could in thoſe parts, concluded to go to St. *John*'s river, to do further ſervice for their King and country, embarked all on board their tranſports; and having a fair wind, ſoon got to *Monogeneſt*, which lies a little diſtance from the mouth of St. *John*'s river. Next morning early the Major, with his forces, landed to ſee what diſcovery they could make, travelled acroſs the woods to the old fort or falls at the mouth of St. *John*'s river, keeping themſelves undiſcovered from the enemy; finding that there were ſeveral men at work, and having informed themſelves as much as they could (the enemy being on the other ſide of the river, could not come at them) returned back, but night coming on, and dark wet weather, with bad travelling, was obliged to ſtop in the woods till towards day next morning, and then went on board; ſoon after the Major ordered all the veſſels to come to ſail, and go into the mouth of the river; being done, it was not

long

long before the Major and his forces landed on the eaſt ſide of the river, the *French* firing briſkly at them, but did them no harm; and running fiercely upon the enemy, they ſoon fled into the woods. The Major ordered a briſk party to run acroſs a neck to cut them off from their canoes, which the day before they had made a diſcovery of; ſo the Commander, with the reſt, ran directly towards the new fort they were building, not knowing but they had ſome ordnance mounted. The enemy running directly to their canoes, were met by our forces, who fired at them, and killed one, and wounded Corporal *Canton*, who was taken, the reſt threw down what they had and ran into the woods; the ſaid priſoner *Canton* being brought to the Major, told him, if he would let his Surgeon dreſs his wound and cure him, he would be ſerviceable to him as long as he lived: So, being dreſs'd, he was examined: Who gave the Major an account of the twelve great guns which were hid in the beach, below high water mark; (the carriages, ſhot and wheelbarrows, ſome flour & pork, all hid in the woods:) And the next morning the Officers being all ordered to meet together to conſult about going to *Vilboon's* fort, and none amongſt them being acquainted but the *Aldens*, who ſaid the water in the river was very low, ſo that they could not yet up to the fort, and the priſoner *Canton* told the Commander, That what the *Aldens* ſaid was true. So not being willing to make a *Canada* expedition, concluded it was not practicable to proceed. Then ordered ſome of the forces to get the great guns on board the open ſloops, and the reſt to range the woods for the enemy, who took one priſoner, and brought in; who in their ranging found there a ſhallop haled in a creek, and a day or two after there came in a young ſoldier to our forces, who upon examination gave an account of two more which he left in the woods at ſome diſtance; ſo immediately the Major with ſome of his forces went in purſuit of them, taking the ſaid priſoner with them

them, who conveyed them to the place where he left them, but they were gone. Then aſked the priſoner, whether there were any Indians in thoſe parts? Said No, it was as hard for *Vilboon*, their Governor, to get an Indian down to the water ſide, as it was for him to carry one of thoſe great guns upon his back to his fort: For they having had intelligence by a priſoner out of *Boſton* gaol, that gave them an account of Major *Church* and his forces coming out againſt them. Now having with a great deal of pains and trouble got all the guns, ſhot, and other ſtores aboard, intended on our deſign which we came out firſt for, but the wind not ſerving, the Commander ſent out his ſcouts into the woods, to ſeek for the enemy, and four of our Indians came upon three *Frenchmen* undiſcovered, who concluded that if the *French* ſhould diſcover them, would fire at them, and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent fired at the *French*, killed one, and took the other two priſoners; and it happened that he who was killed was *Shanelere*, the chief man there, &c. The ſame day they mended their whale-boats, and the ſhallop which they took, fitting her to row with eight oars, that ſhe might be helpful to their proſecuting their intended deſign againſt the enemy, in their returning homeward. Then the Commander ordering all the Officers to come together, informed them of his intentions, and ordered that no veſſels ſhould depart from the fleet, but to attend the motions of their Commodore, as formerly, except they were parted by ſtorms, or thick fogs, and if ſo it ſhould happen that any did part, when they come to *Paſſamequady*, ſhould ſtop there a while, for there they intended to ſtop, and do buſineſs with the help of their boats againſt the enemy, and if they miſſed that, to ſtop at *Machias*; which was the next place he intended to ſtop at, having an account by the priſoners taken, That Mr. *Lateril* was there a trading with the Indians in that river. Encouraging them, ſaid, He did not doubt

but

but to have a good booty there; and if they ſhould paſs thoſe two places, be ſure not to go paſt *Naſkege-point*, but to ſtop there till he came, and not to depart thence in a fortnight without his orders, having great ſervice to do in and about *Penobſcot*, &c. Then the Major diſcourſed with Captain *Brackit*, Captain *Hunewell*, and Captain *Larking*, (with their Lieutenants) Commanders of the forces belonging to the eaſtward parts, who were to diſcourſe their ſoldiers about their proceeding, when they came to *Penobſcot*; and the Major himſelf was to diſcourſe his Indian ſoldiers, and their Captains; who with all the reſt readily complied. The projection being ſuch, That when they came to *Penobſcot*, the Commander deſigned to take what proviſions could be ſpared out of all the ſloops, and put on board the two brigantines, and to ſend all the ſloops home with ſome of the Officers and men that wanted to be at home: And then with thoſe forces afore-mentioned *(to wit)* the eaſtward men, and all the Indians; and to take what proviſions and ammunition was needful, and to march with himſelf up into the *Penobſcot* country, in ſearch for the enemy, and if poſſible to take that fort in *Penobſcot* river. Captain *Brackit* informing the Major, that when the water was low they could wade over, which was (at that time) the loweſt that had been known in a long time: And being there, to range thro' that country down to *Pemequid*; where he intended the two brigantines ſhould meet them; and from thence taking more proviſions, *(viz.)* bread, ſalt and ammunition ſuitable (to ſend thoſe two veſſels home alſo) to travel thro' the country to *Nerigiwack*, and from thence to *Ameras-cogen fort*, and ſo down where the enemy uſed to plant, not doubting but that in all this travel to meet with many of the enemy before they ſhould get to *Piſcataqua*. All which intentions were very acceptable to the forces that were to undertake it, who rejoycing, ſaid, They had rather go home by land than by water, provid-

ed their commander went with them; who, to try their fidelity, ſaid, He was grown ancient, and might fail them; they all ſaid, they would not leave him, and when he could not travel any further, they would carry him. Having done what ſervice they could at and about the mouth of *St. John*'s river, reſolved on their intended deſign; and the next morning having but little wind, came all to ſail, the wind coming againſt them, they put into *Muſhquaſh-Cove*, and the next day the wind ſtill being againſt them, the Major with part of his forces landed, and imployed themſelves in ranging the country for the enemy, but to no purpoſe; and in the night the wind came pretty fair, and at 12 o'clock they came to ſail, and had not been out long before they ſpied three ſail of veſſels; expecting them to be *French*, fitted to defend themſelves, ſo coming near, hailed them: Who found them to be a man of war, the Province-Galley, and old Mr. *Alden* in a ſloop, with more forces, Col. *Hathorne* Commander. Major *Church* went aboard the Commodore, where Colonel *Hathorne* was, who gave him an account of his commiſſion and orders, and read them to him. Then his Honor told Major *Church*, that there was a particular order on board Captain *Southack* for him, which is as followeth:

Boſton, September 9th, 1696.

SIR,

HIS Majeſty's ſhip Orford *having lately ſurpriſed a* French *ſhallop, with twenty-three of the ſoldiers belonging to the fort upon* John's-river, *in* Nova-Scotia, *together with* Villeau, *their Captain, Providence ſeems to encourage the forming of an expedition to attack that fort, and to diſreſt and remove the enemy from that poſt, which is the chief ſource from whence the moſt of our diſaſters do iſſue, and alſo to favour with an opportunity for gaining out of their hands the ordnance, artillery, and other warlike ſtores, and proviſions, lately ſupplied to them from* France, *for erecting*

ing a new fort near the river's mouth, whereby they will be greatly ſtrengthened, and the reducing of them rendered more difficult. I have therefore ordered a detachment of two new companies, conſiſting of about an hundred men to join the forces now with you for that expedition, and have commiſſionated Lieutenant Colonel John Hathorne, *one of the members of his Majeſty's Council, who is acquainted with that river, and in whoſe courage and conduct I repoſe ſpecial truſt, to take the chief command of the whole during that ſervice, being well aſſured that your good affections and zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice will induce your ready compliance and aſſiſtance therein, which, I hope, will take up no long time, and be of great benefit and advantage to theſe his Majeſty's territories, if it pleaſe God to ſucceed the ſame. Beſides, it is very probable to be the faireſt opportunity, that can be offered unto yourſelf and men, of doing execution upon the Indian enemy and rebels, who may reaſonably be expected to be drawn to the defence of that fort. I have alſo ordered his Majeſty's ſhip* Arundel, *and the* Province-Galley *to attend this ſervice.*

Colonel Hathorne *will communicate unto you the contents of his commiſſion and inſtructions received from myſelf for this expedition, which I expect and oraer that yourſelf, Officers and ſoldiers, now under you, yield obedience unto. He is to adviſe with yourſelf and others in all weighty attempts. Praying for a bleſſing from Heaven upon the ſaid enterprize, and that all engaged in the ſame may be under the ſpecial protection of the Almighty; I am your loving friend,*

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

The Major having read his laſt orders, and conſidering his commiſſion, found that he was obliged to attend *All Orders*, &c. was much concerned that he and his were prevented in their intended projection, if carried back to *St. John*'s. Then diſcourſing with Colonel *Hathorne*, gave him an account of what they had done at *St. John*'s, viz. That as to the demoliſhing the new fort they had done it,

and got all their great guns and ſtores aboard their veſſels; and that if it had not been that the waters were ſo low would have taken the fort up the river alſo before he came away: Told him alſo that one of the priſoners which he had taken at *St. John*'s, upon examination, concerning the Indians in thoſe parts, told him, it was as hard for *Vilboon*, their Governor, to get one of their Indians down to the water-ſide, as to carry one of thoſe great guns upon his back; and that they had an account of him and his forces coming to thoſe parts by a priſoner out of *Boſton* gaol: Alſo told his honour, That if they went back it would wholly diſappoint them of their doing any further ſervice, which was that they came for to *Penobſcot*, and places adjacent; but all was to no purpoſe, his Honor telling the Major that he muſt attend his orders then received. And to encourage the Officers and ſoldiers, told them, They ſhould be wholly at the Major's ordering and command in the whole action: And to be ſhort did go back; and the event may be ſeen in Colonel *Hathorne*'s journal of the ſaid action. Only I muſt obſerve one thing by the way, which was, That when they drew off to come down the river again, Colonel *Hathorne* came off and left the Major behind to ſee that all the forces were drawn off; and coming down the river, in or near the rear, in the night heard a perſon hallow, not knowing at firſt but it might be a ſnare to draw them into; but upon conſideration ſent to ſee who or what he was, found him to be a negro man belonging to *Marblehead*, that had been taken, and kept a priſoner amongſt them for ſome time. The Major aſked him, whether he could give any account of the Indians in thoſe parts? He ſaid yes, they were or had been all drawn off from the ſea coaſt, up into the woods, near an hundred miles, having had an account by a priſoner out of *Boſton* gaol, that Major *Church* and his forces were coming out againſt them in four brigantines, and four ſloops, with 24 pettiaugers, meaning whale-boats, which

which put them into a fright, that notwithſtanding they were ſo far up in the woods, were afraid to make fires by day, leſt he and his forces ſhould diſcover the ſmokes, and in the night leſt they ſhould ſee the light. One thing more I would juſt give a hint of, that is, how the *French* in the eaſtward parts were much ſurpriſed at the motion of the whale-boats; ſaid, There was no abiding for them in that country: And I have been informed ſince, that ſoon after this expedition, they drew off from *St. John*'s fort and river. But to return, Then going all down the river, embarked and went homeward; only by the way, *Candid Reader*, I would let you know of two things that proved very prejudicial to Major *Church* and his forces: The firſt was, that the government ſhould miſs it ſo much as to ſend any priſoner away from *Boſton* before the expedition was over. Secondly, That they ſhould ſend Col. *Hathorne* to take them from the ſervice and buſineſs they went to do: Who, with ſubmiſſion, doubtleſs thought they did for the beſt, tho' it proved to the contrary. So ſhall wind up with a juſt hint of what happened at their coming home to *Boſton*. After all their hard ſervice both night and day, the government took away all the great guns, and warlike ſtores, and gave them not a penny for them, (except it was ſome powder, and that they gave what they pleaſed for) and beſides the aſſembly paſſed a vote that they ſhould have but half pay; but his Honor the Lieutenant Governor being much diſturbed at their ſo doing, went into the town-houſe, where the Repreſentatives were ſitting, and told them, except they did re-aſſume that vote, which was to cut Major *Church* and his forces off their half-pay, they ſhould ſit there till the next ſpring. Whereupon it was re-aſſumed: So that they had juſt their bare wages. But as yet never had any allowance for the great guns and ſtores; neither has Major *Church* had any allowance for all his travel and great expences in raiſing the ſaid forces volunteers.

The 5th and laſt Expedition Eaſt.

IN the year 1703-4, Major *Church* had an account of the miſerable devaſtations made on *Deerfield*, a town in the weſtward parts of this province, and the horrible barbarities and cruelties exerciſed on thoſe poor innocent people, by the *French* and Indians, eſpecially of their cruelties towards that worthy Gentlewoman Mrs. *Williams*, and ſeveral others, whom they marched in that extreme ſeaſon; forcing them to carry great loads, and when any of them by their hard uſage could not bare with it, were knock'd on the head, and ſo killed in cool blood. All which with ſome other horrible inſtances done by thoſe barbarous ſavages, which Major *Church* himſelf was an eye-witneſs to in his former travel in the eaſtward parts, did much aſtoniſh him. To ſee a woman that thoſe barbarous ſavages had taken and killed, expoſed in a moſt brutiſh manner (as can be expreſs'd) with a young child ſeized faſt with ſtrings to her breaſt; which infant had no apparent wound, which doubtleſs was left alive to ſuck its dead mother's breaſt, and ſo miſerably to periſh and die: Alſo to ſee other poor children hanging upon fences dead, of either ſex, in their own poor rags, not worth their ſtripping them of, in ſcorn and deriſion: Another inſtance was, of a ſtraggling ſoldier, who was found at *Caſco*, expoſed in a ſhameful and barbarous manner; his body being ſtaked up, his head cut off, and a hog's head ſet in the room, his body ripp'd up, and his heart and inwards taken out, and private members cut off, and hung with belts of their own, the inwards at one ſide of his body, and his privates at the other, in ſcorn and deriſion of the *Engliſh* ſoldiers, *&c.* Theſe and ſuch like barbarities cauſed Major *Church* to expreſs himſelf to this purpoſe, That

That if he were Commander in Chief of theſe provinces, he would ſoon put an end to thoſe barbarities done by the barbarous enemy, by making it his whole buſineſs to fight and deſtroy thoſe ſavages, as they did our poor neighbours; which doubtleſs might have been done if rightly managed, and that in a ſhort time, *&c.* So that theſe, with the late inhumanities done upon the inhabitants of *Deerfield*, made ſuch an impreſſion on his heart as can not well be expreſſed; ſo that his blood boiled within him, making ſuch impulſes on his mind, that he forgot all former treatments, which were enough to hinder any man, eſpecially the ſaid Major *Church*, from doing any further ſervice. Notwithſtanding all which, having a mind to take ſome ſatisfaction on the enemy, his heart being full: Took his horſe and went from his own habitation, near 70 miles, to wait upon his Excellency, and offered his ſervice to the Queen, his Excellency and the country; which his Excellency readily accepted of, and deſired Major *Church* to draw a ſcheme for the enſuing action, or actions; ſo taking leave went home, and drew it; which is as followeth.

Tiverton, February 5, 1703-4.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

ACCORDING to your requeſt, when I was laſt with yourſelf; and in obedience thereunto, I preſent you with theſe following lines, that concern the preparation for next ſpring's expedition, to attack the enemy. According to my former direction, for it is good to have a full ſtroke at them firſt, before they have opportunity to run for it; for the firſt of our action will be our opportunity to deſtroy them, and to prevent their running away, in way-laying every paſſage; and make them know we are in good earneſt, and ſo we being in a diligent uſe of means, we may hope for a bleſſing from the Almighty, and that He will be pleaſed to put a dread in their hearts, that they may fall before us and periſh: For my advice is,

1ſt, *That ten or twelve hundred good able ſoldiers, well equipped, be in a readineſs fit for action, by the firſt of April at fartheſt, for then will be the time to be upon action.*

2dly, *That five and forty, or fifty good whale-boats be had ready, well fitted, with five good oars, and twelve or fifteen good paddles to every boat; And upon the wale of each boat five pieces of ſtrong leather be faſtened on each ſide, to ſlip five ſmall aſh bars thro', that ſo, whenever they land, the men may ſtep overboard, and ſlip in ſaid bars a-croſs, and take up ſaid boat, that ſhe may not be hurt againſt the rocks: And that two ſuitable braſs kettles be provided to belong to each boat, to dreſs the men's victuals in, to make their lives comfortable.*

3dly, *That four or five hundred pair of good Indian ſhoes be made ready, fit for the ſervice, for the* Engliſh *and Indians, that muſt improve the whale-boats, and birch canoes, for they will be very proper, and ſafe for that ſervice; and let there be a good ſtore of cow-hides, well tanned, for a ſupply of ſuch ſhoes; and hemp to make thread, and wax, to mend and make more ſuch ſhoes when wanted, and a good ſtore of awls.*

4thly, *That there be an hundred large hatchets, or light axes, made pretty broad, and ſteeled with the beſt ſteel that can be got, and made by workmen, that may cut very well, and hold, that the hemlock knots may not break or turn them, to widen the landing place up the falls, for it may happen that we may get up, with ſome of our whale-boats, to their falls or head-quarters.*

5thly, *That there be a ſuitable quantity of ſmall bags, or wallets provided, that every man that wants may have one, to put up his bullets in, of ſuch a ſize as will fit his gun,* (*and not be ſerved as at* Caſco.) *That every man's bag be ſo marked that he may not change it: For if ſo, it will make a great confuſion in action; that every man's ſtore of ball be weighed to him, that ſo he may be accountable, and may not ſquander it away; and alſo his ſtore of powder, that ſo he*

he may try his powder and gun before action. And that every particular company may have a barrel of powder to themſelves, and ſo marked that it may by no means be changed; that men may know beforehand, and may not be cheated out of their lives, by having bad powder; or not knowing how to uſe it: And this will prove a great advantage to the action.

6thly, *That Col.* John Gorham, *if he may be prevailed with, may be concerned in the management of the whale-boats, he having been formerly concerned in the eaſtern parts, and experienced in that affair. And whale-men then will be very ſerviceable in this expedition, which having a promiſe made to them, that they ſhall be releaſed in good ſeaſon, to go home a whaling in the fall, your Excellency will have men enough.*

7thly, *That there may be raiſed for this ſervice three hundred Indians at leaſt, and more if they may be had; for I know certainly of my own knowledge, that they exceed moſt of our* Engliſh *in hunting and ſkulking in the woods, being always uſed to it; and it muſt be practiſed if ever we intend to deſtroy thoſe Indian enemies.*

8thly, *That the ſoldiers already out eaſtward in the ſervice, men of known judgment, may take a ſurvey of them and their arms; and ſee if their arms be good, and that they know how to uſe them, in ſhooting right at a mark; and that they be men of good reaſon and ſenſe, to know how to manage themſelves in ſo difficult a piece of ſervice, as this Indian hunting is; for bad men are but a clogg and hindrance to an army, being a trouble and vexation to good Commanders, and ſo many mouths to devour the country's proviſion, and a hindrance to all good action.*

9thly, *That ſpecial care be had in taking up the whale-boats, that they be good and fit for that ſervice; ſo that the country be not cheated, as formerly, in having rotten boats; and as much care that the owners may have good ſatisfaction for them.*

10thly, *That the tenders or tranſports, veſſels to be im-*

proved

proved in this action, be good decked veſſels, not too big, becauſe of going up ſeveral rivers; having four or ſix ſmall guns a piece for defence, and the fewer men will defend them; And there are enough ſuch veſſels to be had.

11thly, To conclude all, *If your Excellency will be pleaſed to make yourſelf great, and us a happy people, as to the deſtroying of our enemies, and eaſing of our taxes, &c. be pleaſed to draw forth all thoſe forces now in pay in all the eaſtward parts, both at* Saco *and* Caſco-Bay; *for thoſe two trading-houſes never did any good, nor ever will, and are not worthy the name of* Queen's *forts; and the firſt building of them had no other effect, but to lay us under tribute to that wretched pagan crew; and I hope will never be wanted, for that they were firſt built for: But ſure it is, they are very ſerviceable to them, for they get many a good advantage of us to deſtroy our men, and laugh at us for our folly, that we ſhould be at ſo much coſt and trouble to do a thing that does us ſo much harm, and no manner of good: But to the contrary, when they ſee all our forces drawn forth, and in the purſuit of them, they will think that we begin to be rouzed up, and to be awake, and will not be ſatisfied with what they have pleaſed to leave us, but are reſolved to retake from them, that they took formerly from us, and drive them out of their country alſo. The which being done, then to build a fort at a ſuitable time, and in a convenient place; and it will be very honorable to your Excellency, and of great ſervice to her Majeſty, and to the enlargement of her Majeſty's government: (The place meant being at* Port-Royal.)

12thly, *That the objection made againſt drawing off the forces in the eaſtward parts will be no damage to the inhabitants; for former experience teacheth us, that ſo ſoon as drawn into their country, they will preſently forſake ours to take care of their own: And that there be no failure in making preparation of theſe things aforementioned; for many times the want of ſmall things prevents the completing of great actions; and that every thing be in readineſs before*

the

the forces be raiſed, to prevent charges; and the enemy having intelligence: And that the General Court be moved to make ſuitable acts, for the encouraging both Engliſh *and Indians; that ſo men of buſineſs may freely offer eſtates and concerns to ſerve the publick.*

Thus hoping what I have taken the pains to write in the ſincerity of my heart and good affection, will be well accepted; I make bold to ſubſcribe, as I am, your Excellency's moſt devoted humble ſervant, Benjamin Church.

Then returning to his Excellency preſented the ſaid ſcheme, which his Excellency approved of; and return'd it again to Maj. *Church*, and deſired him to ſee that every thing was provided, telling him that he ſhould have an order from the Commiſſary General to proceed. Then returned home and made it his whole buſineſs to provide oars and paddles, and a veſſel to carry them round; and then returned again to his Excellency, who gave him a commiſſion: Which is as followeth.

JOSEPH DUDLEY, Eſq; *Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over Her Majeſty's Provinces of the* Maſſachuſetts-Bay *and* New-Hampſhire, *in* New-England, *in* America, *and Vice-Admiral of the ſame.*

To Benjamin Church, *Eſq; Greeting.*

'BY virtue of the power and authority, in and by her Majeſty's Royal commiſſion, to me granted, I 'do by theſe preſents, repoſing ſpecial truſt and confi-'dence in your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, con-'ſtitute and appoint you to be Colonel of all the forces 'raiſed, and to be raiſed for her Majeſty's ſervice, againſt 'the *French* and Indian enemy and rebels, that ſhall be 'improved in the ſervice to the eaſtward of *Caſco-Bay*; 'and to be Captain of the firſt company of the ſaid forces. 'You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform 'the duty of a Colonel and Captain, by leading, ordering 'and exerciſing the ſaid regiment and company in arms,

'both

" both inferior Officers and ſoldiers; and to keep them in " good order and diſcipline. Hereby commanding them " to obey you as their Colonel and Captain; and with " them to do and execute all acts of hoſtility againſt the ſaid " enemy and rebels. And you are to obſerve and follow " ſuch orders and directions as you ſhall receive from " myſelf, or other your ſuperior Officer, according to the " rules and diſcipline of war, purſuant to the truſt repoſ- " ed in you. Given under my hand and ſeal at arms, at " *Boſton*, the 18th day of *March*, in the third year of her " Majeſty's reign. *Anno Dom.* 1703-4.

By his Excellency's command, *J. DUDLEY.*
Iſaac Addington, *Secr.*

Colonel *Church* no ſooner received his commiſſion, but proceeded to the raiſing of men volunteers, by going into every town within the three counties, which were formerly *Plymouth* government; adviſing with the chief Officer of each company, to call his company together, that ſo he might have the better opportunity to diſcourſe and encourage them to ſerve their Queen and country; treating them with drink convenient; told them he did not doubt but with God's bleſſing to bring them all home again: All which, with many other arguments, animated their hearts to do ſervice, ſo that Colonel *Church* enliſted out of ſome companies near twenty men, and others fifteen. He having raiſed a ſufficient number of *Engliſh* ſoldiers, proceeded to the enliſting of Indians in all thoſe parts where they dwelt, which was a great fatigue and expence; being a people that need much treating, eſpecially with drink, &c. Having enliſted the moſt of his ſoldiers in thoſe parts, who daily lay upon him; was not leſs than 5 *l.* per day expences, ſome days, in victuals and drink; who doubtleſs thought (eſpecially the *Engliſh*) that the country would have reimburſed it again, otherwiſe they would hardly accepted it of him. Col.

Church's

Church's ſoldiers both *Engliſh* and Indians in thoſe parts being raiſed, marched them all down to *Nantaſket*, according to his Excellency's directions; where being come, the following Gentlemen were commiſſionated to be Commanders of each particular company, *viz.* Lieut. Col. *Gorham*, Captains *John Brown*, *Conſtant Church*, *James Cole*, *John Dyer*, *John Cook*, *Caleb Williamſon* and *Edward Church*, of the forces raiſed by Col. *Church*, each company being filled up with *Engliſh* and Indians as they agreed among themſelves, and by the Colonel's directions; Captain *Lamb*, and Captain *Mirick*'s company, who were raiſed by his Excellency's direction, were ordered to join thoſe aforeſaid, under the command of Col. *Church*. Matters being brought thus far on, Colonel *Church* waited upon his Excellency at *Boſton* to know his pleaſure, what further meaſures were to be taken; and did humbly move that they might have liberty in their inſtructions to make an attack upon *Port-Royal*: Being very well ſatisfied in his opinion, that with the bleſſing of God, with what forces they had or ſhould have; and whale-boats ſo well fitted with oars and paddles, as they had with them, might be ſufficient to have taken it. His Excellency (looking upon Colonel *Church*) replied, He could not admit of that, by reaſon he had by the advice of her Majeſty's Counſil, writ to her Majeſty about the taking of *Port-Royal* fort, and how it ſhould be diſpoſed of when taken, &c. However Colonel *Church* proceeded ing to get every thing ready for the forces down at *Nantaſket*, which was the place of parade: He happening one day to be at Captain *Belcher*'s, where his Excellency happened to come; who was pleaſed to order Col. *Church* to put on his ſword, and walk with him up the common; which he readily complied with: Where being come he ſaw two mortar pieces with ſhells, and an ingineer trying with them, to throw a ſhell from them to any ſpot of ground where he ſaid it ſhould fall: Which, when Col.

Church

Church had ſeen done, gave him great encouragement and hopes that it would promote their going to *Port-Royal*, which he had ſolicited for; and returning from thence, after they had ſeen them tried, by the ſaid engineer, and performing what was propoſed: Coming near to Capt. *William Clark*'s houſe, over againſt the horſe-ſhoe, his Excellency was invited by Captain *Clark* to walk over and take a glaſs of wine; which he was pleaſed to accept of, and took Col. *Church* with him; and in the time they were taking a glaſs of wine, Col. *Church* once more preſumed to ſay to his Excellency; Sir, I hope that now we ſhall go to *Port-Royal* in order to take it; thoſe mortars being very ſuitable for ſuch an enterpriſe. His Excellency was pleaſed to reply; Col. *Church* you muſt ſay no more of that matter, for the letter I told you of I writ by the advice of her Majeſty's Council, now lies at home on the board before the Lords Commiſſioners of her Majeſty's foreign plantations, &c. After ſome days every thing being ready to embark, Col. *Church* received his inſtructions: Which are as followeth.

By his Excellency JOSEPH DUDLEY, *Eſq; Captain-General and Governor in Chief, in and over her Majeſty's Province of the* Maſſachuſetts-Bay, &c. *in* New-England, *and Vice-Admiral of the ſame.*

INSTRUCTIONS for Colonel BENJAMIN CHURCH, *in the preſent Expedition.*

'IN purſuance of the Commiſſion given you to take the 'chief command of the land and ſea forces by me 'raiſed, equipped and ſet forth on her Majeſty's ſervice, 'againſt her open declared enemies the *French* and Indian 'rebels: You are to obſerve the following inſtructions.

'Firſt, you are to take care, That the duties of re-'ligion be attended on board the ſeveral veſſels, and in 'the ſeveral companies under your command, by daily 'prayers unto God, and reading his holy word: And

'that

'that the Lord's-Day be obſerved and duly ſanctified to 'the utmoſt of your power, as far as the circumſtances 'and neceſſity of the ſervice can admit, that ſo you may 'have the preſence of God with, and obtain his bleſſing 'on, your undertaking.

'You are to take care, That your ſoldiers have 'their due allowance of proviſions and other neceſſaries; 'that their arms be well fixed, and kept fit for ſervice, 'and that they be furniſhed with a ſuitable quantity of 'powder and ball, and be always in readineſs to paſs 'upon duty.

'That good order and diſcipline be maintained; and 'all diſorders, drunkenneſs, profane ſwearing, curſing, 'omiſſion or neglect of duty, diſobedience to Officers, 'mutiny, deſertion, and ſedition be duly puniſhed ac-'cording to the rules and articles of war; the which you 'are once a month, or oftener, to cauſe to be publiſhed, 'and made known to your Officers and ſoldiers for their 'obſervance and direction in their duty. Let notorious 'and capital offenders be ſent away to the next garriſons, 'there to be impriſoned until they can be proceeded 'with.

'Let the ſick and wounded be carefully looked after, 'and accommodated after the beſt manner your circum-'ſtances will admit of, and be ſent either to *Caſco-Fort*, 'or to Mr. *Peperel*'s at *Kittery*, which may be eaſieſt, ſo 'ſoon as you can.

'You are forthwith to ſend away the forces and ſtores 'by the tranſports, with the whale-boats to *Piſcataqua*, 'on *Kittery* ſide, there to attend your coming; whither 'you are to follow them with all expedition.

'You are to embark in the Province-Galley, Captain 'Southack Commander, and let Lieutenant Colonel *Gor-'ham* go on board Captain *Gallop*; who are both directed 'to attend your motion on the *French* ſide, after which 'they are to return. Let the Commanders of all the

'ſtore

'ſtore ſloops and tranſports know that they ſail, anchor
'and ſerve at your direction.

'When you ſail from *Piſcataqua*, keep at ſuch diſtance
'off the ſhore, that you be not obſerved by the enemy to
'alarm them. Stop at *Montinicus*, and there embark
'the forces in the whale-boats for the main, to range that
'part of the country, in ſearch of the enemy, to *Mount*
'*Deſart*, ſending the veſſels to meet you there; and after
'having refreſhed and recruited your ſoldiers, proceed
'to *Machias*, and from thence to *Paſſamequado*; and hav-
'ing effected what ſpoils you poſſibly may upon the ene-
'my in thoſe parts, embark on your veſſels for *Menis*
'and *Signecto*, to *Port-Royal Gut*; and uſe all poſſible me-
'thods for the burning and deſtroying of the enemies
'houſes, and breaking the dams of their corn grounds
'in the ſaid ſeveral places, and make what other ſpoils
'you can upon them, and bring away the priſoners. In
'your return call at *Penobſcot*, and do what you can
'there, and ſo proceed weſtward.

'This will probably imploy you a month, or ſix weeks;
'when you will draw together again, and by the latter
'end of *June* conſider whether you can march to *Norrig-*
'*wack*, or other parts of their planting, to deſtroy their
'corn and ſettlements, and keep the expedition on foot
'until the middle of *Auguſt* next.

'Notwithſtanding the particularity of the aforegoing
'inſtruction, I lay you under no reſtraint, becauſe I am
'well aſſured of your courage, care, caution and indu-
'ſtry; but refer you to your own reſolves, by the advice of
'your Commiſſion Officers, not under the degree of Cap-
'tains, and the ſea Commiſſion Captains (whom you will,
'as often as you can, adviſe with) according to the in-
'telligence you may receive, or as you may find needful
'upon the ſpot.

'You are by every opportunity, and once a week cer-
'tainly, by ſome means, either by way of *Caſco*, *Piſca-*
'*taqua*,

'*taqua*, or otherwiſe to acquaint me of your proceedings 'and all occurrences, and what may be further neceſſary 'for the ſervice: And to obſerve ſuch further and other 'inſtructions as you ſhall receive from myſelf.

'As often as you may, adviſe with Captain *Smith* and 'Captain *Rogers*, Commanders of her Majeſty's ſhips.

'Let your Miniſter, Commiſſary and Surgeons be 'treated with juſt reſpects. I pray to God to preſerve, proſper and ſucceed you.

'Given under my hand at *Boſton*, the fourth day of '*May*, 1704." *J. DUDLEY.*

Purſuant to his inſtructions he ſent away his tranſports and forces to *Piſcataqua*, but was obliged himſelf to wait upon his Excellency by land to *Piſcataqua*, in order to raiſe more forces in the way thither; and did raiſe a company under the command of Captain *Harridon*; taking care alſo to provide a pilot for them in the *Bay of Fundy*; Colonel *Church* being directed to one ——— *Fellows*, whom he met with at *Ipſwich*. And going from thence to *Piſcataqua* with his Excellency, was there met by that worthy Gentleman Major *Winthrop Hilton*, who was very helpful to him in the whole expedition, whoſe name and memory ought not to be forgot. Being ready to embark from *Piſcataqua*, Colonel *Church* requeſted the Commanders of her Majeſty's ſhips, Captain *Smith* and Capt. *Rogers* to tarry at *Piſcataqua* a fortnight, that ſo they might not be diſcovered by the enemy before he had done ſome ſpoil upon them. Then moving in their tranſports, as directed, got ſafe into *Montinicus*, undiſcovered by the enemy. Next morning early fitted out two whale-boats with men, Captain *John Cooke* in one, and Captain *Conſtant Church* in the other; and ſent them to *Green-Iſland*, upon a diſcovery; and coming there they parted, one went to one part, and the other to the other part, that ſo they might not miſs of what could be diſcovered; where they met with old *Lafaure* with his two ſons *Tho-*

mas and *Timothy*, and a *Canada* Indian. The enemy ſeeing that they were diſcovered, threw down their ducks and eggs, who had got a conſiderable quantity of each, and ran to their canoes, getting into them, ſtood directly for the Main; looking behind them, perceived the whale-boats to gain ſo faſt upon them, clapt ſide by ſide, and all four got into one canoe, which proved of little advantage to them, for the whale-boats gained ſo much upon them, and got ſo near that Capt. *Cook*, firing at the ſteer's-man, which was the Indian, and happened to graze his ſkull, and quite ſpoiled his paddling: Upon which old *Lafaure* and ſons, ſeeing their companion's condition, ſoon begged for quarter, and had it granted: The two Captains with their ſucceſs preſently returned to their Commander, taking care that their captives ſhould not diſcourſe together before they were examined; when bro't to Colonel *Church*, he ordered them to be apart, and firſt proceeded to examine old *Lafaure*, whom he found to be very ſurly and croſs, ſo that he could gain no manner of intelligence by him; upon which the Commander was reſolved to put in practice what he had formerly done at *Seneca*; ordering the Indians to make two large heaps of dry wood, at ſome diſtance one from the other, and to ſet a large ſtake in the ground, cloſe to each heap; then ordered the two ſons, *Thomas* and *Timothy*, to be bro't, and to be bound to the ſtakes; alſo ordering his Indians to paint themſelves with colours, which they had bro't for that uſe. Then the Colonel proceeded to examine firſt *Timothy*; and told him, He had examined his father already; and that if he told him the truth he would ſave his life, and take him into his ſervice; and that he ſhould have good pay and live well. He anſwered, That he would tell him the truth; and gave him an account of every thing he knew; which was all minuted down: He being aſked whether his brother *Thomas* did not know more than he? His anſwer was, Yes, for his Brother

Thomas

Thomas had a commiſſion ſent him from the Governor of *Canada*, to command a company of Indians, who were gathered together at a place where ſome *French* Gentlemen lately arrived from *Canada*, who were Officers to command the reſt that were to go weſtward to fight the *Engliſh*, and that there was ſent to his father and brother *Tom*, a conſiderable quantity of flower, fruit, ammunition and ſtores, for the ſupply of the ſaid army. He being aſked, Whether he could pilot our forces to them? Said No: But his brother *Tom* could, for he had hid it, and that he was not then with him. The Colonel aſked him, What Gentlemen thoſe were that came from *Canada?* He anſwered Monſieur *Gourdan*, and Mr. *Sharkee*. Being aſked where they were? Anſwered at *Paſſamequado*; building a fort there. Being alſo aſked, What number of Indians and *French* there were at *Penobſcot?* He anſwered, There were ſeveral families, but they lived ſcattering. Aſked him further, If he would pilot our forces thither? Anſwered, He would if the Commander would not let the ſavages roaſt him. Upon which the Colonel ordered him to be looſed from the ſtake, and took him by the hand, told him, He would be as kind to him as his own father; at which he ſeemed to be very thankful. And then the Colonel proceeded to examine his brother *Tom*, and told him that he had examined his father and brother and that his brother had told him every tittle he knew, and that he knew more than his brother *Timothy* did; and that if he would be ingenuous and confeſs all he knew, he ſhould fare as well as his brother; but if not, the ſavages ſhould roaſt him. Whereupon he ſolemnly promiſed that he would, and that he would pilot him to every thing he knew, to the value of a knife and ſheath (which without doubt he did.) Then the Colonel immediately gave orders for the whale-boats to be ready, and went directly over where the ſaid goods and ſtores were, and found them as informed, took them on board the boats, and

returned to their tranſports; and ordering proviſions to be put into every man's ſnapſack for 6 or 8 days; ſo in the duſk of the evening left their tranſports, with orders how they ſhould act; and went directly for the main land of *Penobſcot*, and mouth of that river, with their pilots *Tom* and *Timothy*, who carried them directly to every place and habitation, both of *French* and Indians thereabouts, with the aſſiſtance of one *De Young*, whom they carried out of *Boſton* gaol for the ſame purpoſe, who was very ſerviceable to them. Being there we killed and took every one, both *French* and Indians, not knowing that any one did eſcape in all *Penobſcot*; among thoſe that were taken was *St. Caſteen*'s daughter, who ſaid that her huſband was gone to *France*, to her father Monſieur *Caſteen*. She having her children with her, the Commander was very kind to her and them. All the priſoners that were then taken, held to one ſtory in general, which they had from *Lafaure*'s ſons; that there were no more Indians thereabouts, but enough of them at *Paſſamequado*; upon which they ſoon returned to their tranſports with their priſoners and plunder. The Commander giving order immediately for the ſoldiers in the whale-boats to have a recruit of proviſions for a further purſuit of the enemy, giving orders to the tranſports to ſtay a few days more there, and then go to *Mount-Deſart* (and there to ſtay for her Majeſty's ſhips, who were directed to come thither) and there to wait his further order. Then Col. *Church* with his forces immediately embarked on board their whale-boats, and proceeded to ſcour the coaſt, and to try if they could diſcover any of the enemy coming from *Paſſamequado*; making their ſtops in the day-time at all the points and places where they were certain the enemy would land, or come by with their canoes, and at night to their paddles. Then coming near where the veſſels were ordered to come, having made no diſcovery of the enemy, went directly to *Mount-Deſart*, where the

tranſports

tranſports were juſt come; and taking ſome proviſions for his ſoldiers, gave direction for the ſhips and tranſports in ſix days to come directly to *Paſſamequado*, where they ſhould find him and his forces. Then immediately moved away in the whale-boats, and made diligent ſearch along ſhore, as formerly, inſpecting all places where the enemy was likely to lurk: Particularly at *Machias*; but found neither fires nor tracks. Coming afterwards to the weſt harbour at *Paſſamequado*, where they entered upon action; an account whereof Colonel *Church* did communicate to his Excellency, being as followeth:

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

'I Received yours of this inſtant, *October 9th*, with the 'two incloſed informations, that concern my actions 'at *Paſſamequado*; which I will give a juſt and true account of as near as poſſibly I can, (viz.) on the 7th of '*June* laſt, 1704. In the evening we entered in at the 'weſtward harbour at ſaid *Paſſamequado*; coming up 'ſaid harbour to an iſland, where landing, we came to a '*French* houſe, and took a *French* woman and children, 'the woman upon her examination ſaid, her huſband was 'abroad a fiſhing. I aſked her, whether there were any 'Indians thereabouts? She ſaid, Yes: There were a 'great many, and ſeveral on that iſland. I aſked her, 'whether ſhe could pilot me to them? Said, No: They 'hid in the woods. I aſked her, when ſhe ſaw them? 'Anſwered, juſt now, or a little while ſince. I aſked 'her whether ſhe knew where they had laid the canoes? 'She anſwered, No: They carried their canoes into the 'woods with them. We then haſtened away along ſhore, 'ſeizing what priſoners we could, taking old *Lotriel* and 'his family.

'This intelligence cauſed me to leave Col. *Gorham*, 'and a conſiderable part of my men, and boats, with 'him at that Iſland, partly to guard and ſecure thoſe 'priſoners, being ſenſible it would be a great trouble to

'have

'have them to ſecure and guard at our next landing, 'where I did really expect, and hoped to have an op- 'portunity, to fight our Indian enemies; for all our 'French priſoners that we had taken at *Penobſcot*, and 'along ſhore, had informed us, That when we came to 'the place where theſe *Canada* gentlemen lived, we ſhould 'certainly meet with the Savages to fight us, thoſe being 'the only men that ſet the Indians againſt us, or upon us, 'and were newly come from *Canada*, to manage the war 'againſt us, (pleading in this account and information 'their own innocency) and partly in hopes that he, the ſaid 'Col. *Gorham*, would have a good opportunity in the morn- 'ing to deſtroy ſome of thoſe our enemies, (we were inform- 'ed by the ſaid French woman as above) with the uſe of 'his boats, as I had given direction: Ordering alſo Maj. '*Hilton* to paſs over to the next Iſland, that lay Eaſt of 'us, with a ſmall party of men and boats, to ſurpriſe 'and deſtroy any of the enemy that in their canoes 'might go here and there, from any place, to make their 'flight from us, and, as he had opportunity, to take any 'French priſoners. We then immediately moved up the 'river, in the dark night, through great difficulty, by 'reaſon of the eddies and whirlpools, made with the 'fierceneſs of the current. And here it may be hinted, 'that we had information that *Lotriel* had loſt part of 'his family paſſing over to the next iſland, falling into 'one of thoſe eddies were drowned; which the two pilots 'told to diſcourage me: But I ſaid nothing of that na- 'ture ſhall do it; for I was reſolved to venture up, and 'therefore forthwith paddling our boats as privately as 'we could, and with as much expedition as we could 'make with our paddles, and the help of a ſtrong tide, 'we came up to Monſieur *Gourdan's* a little before day; 'where taking notice of the ſhore, and finding it ſome- 'what open and clear, I ordered Capt. *Mirick* and Capt. '*Cole*, having *Engliſh* companies, to tarry with ſeveral of

the

the boats to be ready, that if any of the enemy ſhould come down out of the bruſh into the bay, (it being very broad in that place) with their canoes, they might take and deſtroy them: Ordering the remainder of the army being landed, with myſelf and the other officers, to march up into the woods, with a wide front, and to keep at a conſiderable diſtance; for that if they ſhould run in heaps the enemy would have the greater advantage: And further directing them that, if poſſible, they ſhould deſtroy the enemy with their hatchets, and not fire a gun. This order I always gave at landing, telling them the inconveniency of firing, in that it might be, firſt, dangerous to themſelves, they being many of them young ſoldiers, (as I had ſome time obſerved, that one or two guns being fired, many others would fire, at they knew not what; as happened preſently after) and it would alarm the enemy, and give them the opportunity to make their eſcape; and it might alarm the whole country, and alſo prevent all further action from taking effect. Orders being thus paſſed, we moved directly towards the woods, *Le Faver*'s ſon directing us to a little hut or wigwam, which we immediately ſurrounded with a few men, the reſt marching directly up into the woods, to ſee what wigwams or huts they could diſcover; myſelf made a little ſtop, ordering the pilot to tell them in the hut, that they were ſurrounded with an army, and that if they would come forth, and ſurrender themſelves, they ſhould have good quarter, but if not, they ſhould all be knock'd on the head and die: One of them ſhowed himſelf; I aſked who he was? He ſaid, *Gourdan*; and begg'd for quarter: I told him, he ſhould have good quarter; adding further, That if there were any more in the houſe, they ſhould come out: Then came out two men; *Gourdan* ſaid they were his ſons, and aſked quarter for them, which was alſo granted.—Then came out a woman and a little boy; ſhe fell upon

on

'on her knees, begg'd quarter for herſelf and children, 'and that I would not ſuffer the Indians to kill them. I 'told them they ſhould have good quarter, and not be 'hurt. After which I ordered a ſmall guard over them, 'and ſo moved preſently up with the reſt of my company, 'after them that were gone before, but looking on my 'right hand, over a little run, I ſaw ſomething look black 'juſt by me, ſtopped, and heard a talking, ſtepped over, 'and ſaw a little hut or wigwam, with a crowd of people 'round about it, which was contrary to my former direc-'tions: Aſk'd them what they were doing? They re-'ply'd, There were ſome of the enemy in a houſe, and 'would not come out: I aſk'd, what houſe? They ſaid, 'A bark houſe. I haſtily bid them pull it down, and 'knock them on the head, never aſking whether they 'were *French* or Indians; they being all enemies alike to 'me. And paſſing then to them, and ſeeing them in 'great diſorder, ſo many of the army in a crowd together, 'acting ſo contrary to my command and direction, expo-'ſing themſelves, and the whole army, to utter ruin, by 'their ſo diſorderly crowding thick together; had an e-'nemy come upon them in that interim, and fired a vol-'ley amongſt them, they could not have miſs'd a ſhot; and 'wholly neglecting their duty, in not attending my or-'ders, in ſearching diligently for our lurking enemies in 'their wigwams, or by their fires, where I had great 'hopes, and real expectations to meet with them.

'I moſt certainly know that I was in an exceeding 'great paſſion, but not with thoſe poor miſerable ene-'mies; for I took no notice of half a dozen of the ene-'my, when at the ſame time, I expected to be engaged 'with ſome hundreds of them, of whom we had a conti-'nued account, who were expected from *Port Royal* ſide. 'In this heat of action, every word that I then ſpoke, 'I cannot give an account of, and I preſume it is im-'poſſible. I ſtopped but little here, but went directly

'up

' up into the woods, hoping to be better employed, with
' the reſt of the army: I liſtened to hear, and looked
' earneſtly to ſee what might be the next action; but
' meeting with many of the ſoldiers, they told me they
' had diſcovered nothing; we fetching a ſmall compaſs
' round, came down again. It being pretty dark, I took
' notice, I ſaw two men lay dead, as I thought, at the
' end of the houſe, where the door was, and immediate-
' ly the guns went off, and they fired every man, as I
' thought, and moſt towards that place where I left the
' guard with Monſieur *Gourdan*. I had much ado to ſtop
' their firing, and told them, I thought they were mad,
' and I believed they had not killed and wounded leſs than
' forty or fifty of our own men. And I aſked them what
' they ſhot at? They anſwered, At a *Frenchman* that ran
' away: But to admiration no man was killed, but he,
' and one of our men wounded in the leg; and I turning
' about, a *Frenchman* ſpoke to me, and I gave him quar-
' ter. Day-light coming on, and no diſcovery made of
' the enemy, I went to the place where I had left Mon-
' ſieur *Gourdan*, to examine him, and his ſons, who a-
' greed in their examinations; told me two of their men
' were abroad. It proved a damage; and further told
' me, That Monſieur *Sharkee* lived ſeveral leagues up
' at the head of the river, at the falls, and all the In-
' dians were fiſhing, and tending their corn there; and
' that Monſieur *Sharkee* had ſent down to him, to
' come up to him, to adviſe about the Indian army, that
' was to go weſtward; but he had returned him anſwer,
' his buſineſs was urgent, and he could not come up:
' And that *Sharkee*, and the Indians would certainly be
' down that day, or the next at the furtheſt, to come to
' conclude of that matter. This was a ſhort night's ac-
' tion, and all ſenſible men do well know, that actions
' done in the dark (being in the night as aforeſaid) un-
' der ſo many difficulties, as we then laboured under, as

' before

" before related, was a very hard taſk for one man, mat-
" ters being circumſtanced as in this action; which would
" not admit of calling a council, and at that time could
" not be confined thereunto; at which time I was tranſ-
" ported above fear, or any ſort of dread; yet being ſen-
" ſible of the danger in my armies crowding ſo thick to-
" gether, and of the great duty incumbent on me, to pre-
" ſerve them from all the danger I poſſibly could, for
" further improvement, in the deſtruction of our impla-
" cable enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very
" quick and abſolute in giving ſuch commands and or-
" ders, as I then apprehended moſt proper and advanta-
" geous. And had it not been for the intelligence I had
" received from the *French* we took at *Penobſcot*, as be-
" fore hinted, and the falſe report the *French* woman (firſt
" took) gave me, I had not been in ſuch haſte. I queſ-
" tion not but thoſe *Frenchmen* that were ſlain, had the
" ſame good quarter of other priſoners. But I ever look'd
" on it a good providence of Almighty God, that ſome
" few of our cruel and bloody enemies were made ſen-
" ſible of their bloody cruelties, perpetrated on my dear
" and loving friends and countrymen; and that the ſame
" meaſure (in part) meeted to them, as they had been
" guilty of in a barbarous manner at *Deerfield*, and I hope
" juſtly. I hope God Almighty will accept hereof, al-
" though it may not be eligible to our *French* implacable
" enemies, and ſuch others as are not our friends. The
" foregoing journal, and this ſhort annexment, I thought
" it my duty to exhibit, for the ſatisfaction of my friends
" and countrymen, whom I very faithfully and willingly
" ſerved in the late expedition; and I hope will find ac-
" ceptance with your Excellency, the honorable Coun-
" cil and Repreſentatives now aſſembled, as being done
" from the zeal I had in the ſaid ſervice of her Majeſty,
" and her good ſubjects here. *I remain your moſt humble*
and obedient Servant, BENJAMIN CHURCH."

This

This night's ſervice being over, immediately Colonel *Church* leaves a ſufficient guard with *Gourdan*, and the other priſoners, moved in ſome whale-boats with the reſt, and as they were going ſpied a ſmall thing upon the water, at a great diſtance, which proved to be a birch canoe, with two Indians in her; the Colonel preſently ordered the lighteſt boat he had to make the beſt of her way, and cut them off from the ſhore; but the Indians perceiving their deſign, run their canoe aſhore and fled. Colonel *Church* fearing they would run directly to *Sharkee*, made all the expedition imaginable; but it being ebb and the water low, was obliged to land, and make the beſt of their way through the woods, hoping to intercept the Indians, and get to *Sharkee*'s houſe before them; which was two miles from where our forces landed. The Colonel being ancient and unwildy, deſired Serjeant *Edee* to run with him, and coming to ſeveral trees fallen, which he could not creep under, or readily get over, would lay his breaſt againſt the tree, the ſaid *Edee* turning him over, generally had cat-luck, falling on his feet, by which means kept in the front; and coming near to *Sharkee*'s houſe, diſcovered ſome *French* and Indians making a wear in the river, and preſently diſcovered the two Indians aforementioned, who called to them at work in the river; told them there was an army of *Engliſh* and Indians juſt by; who immediately left their work and ran, endeavouring to get to *Sharkee's* houſe; who, hearing the noiſe, took his Lady and child, and ran into the woods. Our men running briſkly fired and killed one of the Indians, and took the reſt priſoners. Then going to *Sharkee*'s houſe found a woman and child, to whom they gave good quarter: And finding that Madam *Sharkee* had left her ſilk clothes and fine linen behind her, our forces were deſirous to have purſued and taken her; but Colonel *Church* forbad them, ſaying he would have her run and ſuffer, that ſhe might be made ſenſible, what hardſhips our poor people had

had ſuffered by them, &c. Then proceeded to examine the priſoners newly taken, who gave him the ſame account he had before, of the Indians being up at the falls, &c. It being juſt night prevented our attacking of them that night. But next morning early they moved up to the falls (which was about a mile higher:) But doubtleſs the enemy had ſome intelligence by the two aforeſaid Indians, before our forces came, ſo that they all got on the other ſide of the river, and left ſome of their goods by the water-ſide, to decoy our men, that ſo they might fire upon them; which indeed they effected: But through the good Providence of God never a man of ours was killed, and but one ſlightly wounded. After a ſhort diſpute Colonel *Church* ordered that every man might take what they pleaſed of the fiſh which lay bundled up, and to burn the reſt, which was a great quantity. The enemy ſeeing what our forces were about, and that their ſtock of fiſh was deſtroyed, and the ſeaſon being over for getting any more, ſet up a hideous cry, and ſo ran all away into the woods; who being all on the other ſide of the river, ours could not follow them. Having done, our forces marched down to their boats at *Sharkee*'s, and took their priſoners, beaver, and other plunder which they had got, and put it into their boats, and went down to *Gourdan*'s houſe, where they had left Lieutenant Colonel *Gorham*, and Major *Hilton*, with part of the forces to guard the priſoners, (and kept a good look-out for more of the enemy) who, upon the Colonel's return, gave him an account that they had made no diſcovery of the enemy ſince he left them, &c. Juſt then her Majeſty's ſhips and tranſports arriving: The Commanders of her Majeſty's ſhips told Colonel *Church* that they had orders to go directly for *Port-Royal Cut*, and wait the coming of ſome ſtore-ſhips, which were expected at *Port-Royal* from *France*; and Colonel *Church* adviſing with them, propoſed that it was very expedient and ſerviceable to the Crown,

Crown, that Captain *Southack* in the Province Galley ſhould accompany them, which they did readily acquieſce with him in. Upon which the Colonel immediately embarked his forces on board the tranſports, and himſelf on board Captain *Jarvis*; ordering the Commiſſary of the ſtores, the miniſter, ſurgeons and pilots all to embark on board the ſame veſſel with him; ordering all the whale-boats to be put on board the tranſports, and then to come to ſail. The ſhips ſtanding away for *Port-Royal Gut*, and Colonel *Church* with the tranſports for *Menis*. In their way the Colonel inquired of their pilot ——— *Fellows*, what depth of water there was in the creek, near the town of *Menis?* He anſwered him that there was water enough near the town to float that veſſel they were in at low water. So when coming near, Colonel *Church* obſerved a woody iſland between them and the town, that they run up on the back ſide of the ſaid iſland, with all their tranſports undiſcovered to the enemy, and came to anchor. Then the Colonel and all his forces embarked in the whale-boats, it being late in the day, moved directly for the town, and in the way aſked for the pilot, whom he expected was in one of the boats; but he had given him the ſlip, and tarried behind. The Colonel not knowing the difficulties that might attend their going up to the town; immediately ſent Lieutenant *Giles*, who could ſpeak *French*, with a flag of truce up to the town, with a ſummons, which was wrote before they landed, expecting their ſurrender: Which is as followeth:

Aboard Her Majeſty's Ship Adventure, *near the Gut of* Menis, June 20, 1704.

An agreement made by the Field Officers commanding Her Majeſty's forces for the preſent expedition againſt the French enemies, and Indian rebels.

AGREED,

THAT *a declaration or ſummons be ſent on ſhore at* Menis *and* Port-Royal, *under a flag of truce.*

Particularly, *We*

We do declare to you, the many cruelties and barbarities that you and the Indians have been guilty-of towards us, in laying waſte our country here in the Eaſt, at Caſco, *and the places adjacent: Particularly, the horrid action at* Deerfield, *this laſt winter, in killing, maſſacreing, murdering and ſcalping, without giving any notice at all, or opportunity to aſk quarter at your hands; and, after all, carrying the remainder into captivity in the height of winter, (of which they kill'd many in the journey) and expoſed the reſt to the hardſhips of cold & famine, worſe than death itſelf: Which cruelties we are yet every day expoſed unto, and exerciſed with.*

We do alſo declare, That we have already made ſome beginnings of killing and ſcalping ſome Canada *men, (which we have not been wont to do or allow) and are now come with a great number of Engliſh and Indians, all volunteers, with reſolutions to ſubdue you, and make you ſenſible of your cruelties to us, by treating you after the ſame manner.*

At this time we expect our men of war and tranſport ſhips to be at Port-Royal. *(We having but lately parted with them.)*

In the laſt place, We do declare to you, That inaſmuch as ſome of you have ſhewn kindneſs to our captives, and expreſs'd a love to, and deſire of being under the Engliſh government, We do therefore, notwithſtanding all this, give you timely notice, and do demand a ſurrender immediately, by the laying down your arms, upon which we promiſe very good quarter; if not, you muſt expect the utmoſt ſeverity.

To the Chief Commander of the town of Menis, *and the inhabitants thereof, & we expect your anſwer poſitively, within an hour.*

Benjamin Church, *Col.*
John Gorham. *Lt. Col.*
Winthrop Hilton, *Maj.*

Then moving to the creek, expecting to have had water

water enough for the boats, as the pilot had informed them, but found not water enough for a canoe; ſo were obliged to land, intending to have been up at the town before the hour was out, that the ſummons expreſſed: (For their return was, That if our forces would not hurt their eſtates, then they would ſurrender, if otherwiſe intended, they ſhould fight for them, &c.) But meeting with ſeveral creeks near 20 or 30 feet deep, which were very muddy and dirty, ſo that the army could not get over them, was obliged to return to their boats again, and wait till within night before the tide ſerved them to go up to the town; and then intended to go up pretty near the town, and not to fall to till morning, being in hopes that the banks of the creeks would ſhelter them from the enemy; but the tides riſing ſo high expoſed them all to the enemy, who had the trees and woods to befriend them:—And ſo came down in the night and fired ſmartly at our forces; but Col. *Church* being in a Pinnace that had a ſmall cannon placed in the head, ordered it to be charged ſeveral times, with bullets in ſmall bags, and fired at the enemy which made ſuch a rattling amongſt the trees, that cauſed the enemy to draw off; and by the great providence of Almighty God, not one of our forces was hurt that night; (but, as I have been informed, they had one Indian killed, and ſome others wounded, which was ſome diſcouragement to the enemy.) Next morning, by break of day, Col. *Church* ordered all his forces (and placed Maj. *Hilton* on the right wing) to run all up, driving the enemy before them, who leaving their town to our forces, but had carried away the beſt of their goods, which were ſoon found by our ſoldiers. The bulk of the enemy happening to lie againſt our right wing, cauſed the hotteſt diſpute there, who lay behind logs and trees, till our forces, and Major *Hilton*, who led them, came on upon them, and forced them to run; and notwithſtanding the ſharp firing of the enemy at our forces, by the repeated providence

dence of God, there was never a man of ours kill'd or wounded.

Our ſoldiers not having been long in town before they found conſiderable quantities of ſtrong drink (both brandy and claret) and being very greedy after it, eſpecially the Indians, were very diſorderly, firing at every pig, turkey or fowl they ſaw, of which were very plenty in the town, which endangered our own men: Colonel *Church* perceiving the diſorder, and firing of his own men, ran to put a ſtop to it, had ſeveral ſhot come very near him; and finding what had occaſioned this diſorder, commanded his Officers to knock out the heads of every caſk of ſtrong liquor they could find in the town, to prevent any further diſturbance amongſt his army; knowing it was impoſſible to have kept it from them, eſpecially the Indians, if it was ſaved, *&c.* Then ſome of the army, who were deſirous to purſue the enemy, having heard them driving away their cattle, requeſted the Colonel to let them go; who did: And gave them their orders. Captain *Cooke*, and Captain *Church* to lead the two wings, and Lieutenant *Barker*, who led the Colonel's company, in the centre: And the ſaid Captain *Cooke*, and Captain *Church* deſired Lieutenant *Barker* not to move too faſt; ſo that he might have the benefit of their aſſiſtance, if he had occaſion; but the ſaid Lieutenant not being ſo careful as he ſhould have been, or at leaſt was too eager, was ſhot down, and another man; which were all the men that were killed in the whole expedition. Towards night Colonel *Church* ordered ſome of his forces to pull down ſome of the houſes, and others to get logs and make a fortification for his whole army to lodge in that night, that ſo they might be together: And juſt before night ordered ſome of his men to go ſee if there were any men in any of the houſes in the town; if not, to ſet them all on fire; which was done, and the whole town ſeemed to be on fire all at once, &c. The next morning the Colonel gave orders to his

his men to dig down the dams, and let the tide in to deſtroy all their corn, and every thing that was good, according to his inſtructions; and to burn the fortification which they had built the day before: And when the tide ſerved to put all their plunder which they had got into the boats. Then ordering his ſoldiers to march at a good diſtance one from another; which cauſed the enemy to think that there were no leſs than a thouſand men (as they ſaid afterwards) and that their burning of the fortification, and doing as they did, cauſed the enemy to think that they were gone clear off, and not to return again. But it proved to the contrary, for Colonel *Church* and his forces only went aboard their tranſports, and there ſtaid till the tide ſerved; in the night embarked on board their whale-boats, landed ſome of his men, expecting they might meet with ſome of the enemy mending their dams; which they did, and with their boats went up another branch of the river, to another town or village; upon ſuch a ſurpriſe took as many priſoners as they could deſire. And it happened that Colonel *Church* was at the *French* Captain's houſe when two gentlemen came poſt from the Governor of *Port-Royal* to him, who was the chief Commander at *Menis*, with an expreſs to ſend away two companies of men to defend the King's fort there; and to give him an account, That there were three *Engliſh* men of war come into *Port-Royal Gut* or harbour; and that the men ſent for muſt be poſted away with all ſpeed. Colonel *Church*, as was ſaid before, being there, treated the two gentlemen very handſomely, and told them, He would ſend them back again poſt to their maſter upon his buſineſs; and bid them give him his hearty thanks for ſending him ſuch good news, that part of his fleet was in ſo good a harbour. Then reading the ſummons to them that he had ſent to *Menis*: Further added, That their Maſter the Governor of *Port-Royal* muſt immediately ſend away a poſt to the Gover-

nor of *Canada*, at *Quebec*, to prevent his further ſending any of his cruel and bloody *French* and ſavages, as he had done lately upon *Deerfield*, where they had commited ſuch horrible and bloody outrages upon thoſe poor people, that never did them any harm, as is intolerable to think of; and that for the future, if any ſuch hoſtilities were made upon our frontier towns, or any of them, He would come out with a thouſand ſavages, and whaleboats convenient, and turn his back upon them, and let his ſavages ſcalp and roaſt the *French*; or at leaſt treat them as their ſavages had treated ours: Alſo gave them an account of part of that action at *Paſſamequado*, and how that his ſoldiers had killed and ſcalped ſome *Canada* men there, and would be glad to ſerve them ſo too, if he would permit them, which terrified them very much, *&c.* The two *French* Gentlemen that came poſt made ſolemn promiſes that they would punctually do the Colonel's meſſage to their Governor. So with the deſire of the *French* people there, that the Governor might have this intelligence, Colonel *Church* diſmiſſed them, and ſent them away; telling the ſame ſtory to ſeveral of the priſoners, and what they muſt expect if ſome ſpeedy courſe was not taken to prevent further outrages upon the *Engliſh*. The number of priſoners then preſent (which were conſiderable) did unanimouſly entreat of Colonel *Church*, that he would take them under the protection of the crown of *England*; making great promiſes of their fidelity to the ſame, begging with great agony of ſpirit to ſave their lives, and to protect them from his ſavages, whom they extremely dreaded: As to the matter of the ſavages, he told them, it would be juſt retaliation for him to permit his ſavages to treat the *French* in the ſame manner, as the *French* with their ſavages treated our friends in our frontier towns: But as to his taking them under the protection of the crown of *England*, he utterly refuſed it, urging to them their former perfidiouſneſs; they alſo urging

to

to him, that it would be impoſſible for any *French* to live any where in the *Bay of Fundy*, if they were not taken under the *Engliſh* government; for with the benefit of the whale-boats, (as the *Engliſh* called them) they could take and deſtroy all their people in the town of *Menis*, in one night: But he replied to them, It ſhould never be; alledging to them that when they were ſo before, when *Port-Royal* was taken laſt by the *Engliſh*, that it proved of very ill conſequence to the crown of *England*, and the ſubjects thereof in our frontiers; for that our *Engliſh* traders ſupplying them, enabled them (which opportunity they improved) to ſupply the Indians, our bloody enemies; and therefore he could make no other terms of peace with them than that; If the *French* at *Menis*, *Signecto* and *Canada*, would keep at home with their bloody ſavages, and not commit any hoſtilities upon any of our frontiers, we would return home and leave them; for that we lived at a great diſtance off, and had not come near them to hurt them now, had not the blood of our poor friends and brethren in all the frontiers of our province cried for vengeance; eſpecially that late unheard of barbarity committed upon the town of *Deerfield*; which wrought ſo generally on the hearts of our people, that our forces came out with that unanimity of ſpirit, both among the *Engliſh* and our ſavages, that we had not, nor needed a preſſed man among them. The Colonel alſo telling them, That if ever hereafter any of our frontiers, Eaſt or Weſt were moleſted by them, as formerly, that he would (if God ſpared his life) and they might depend upon it, return upon them with a thouſand of his ſavages, if he wanted them, all volunteers, with our whale-boats, and would purſue them to the laſt extremity. The Colonel's warm diſcourſe with them wrought ſuch a conſternation in them, which they diſcovered by their panic fears and trembling, their hearts ſenſibly beating, and riſing up as it were ready to choke them; confeſſed they were all his priſoners, and

begged of him, for JESUS ſake, to ſave their lives, and the lives of their poor families; with ſuch melting terms, as wrought relentings in the Colonel's breaſt towards them; but however, he told them, That his intent was to carry as many priſoners home as he could, but that he had taken ſo many, they were more than he had occaſion for, nor deſired any more; and therefore he would leave them. The Colonel reſolving the next day to complete all his action at *Menis*, and ſo draw off. Accordingly, ſent his orders to Colonel *Gorham*, and Major *Hilton*, with all the *Engliſh* companies both officers and ſoldiers, except ſome few, which he thought he might have occaſion for to go with the Indians in the whale-boats up the eaſtward river, where a third part of the inhabitants lived; that ſo he might prevent any reflection made on them, in leaving any part of the ſervice undone. And therefore in the evening ordered all the whale-boats to be laid ready for the night's ſervice; and accordingly when the tide ſerved, he went with his Indians up the river, where they did ſome ſpoil upon the enemy going up. In the morning ſeveral of their tranſports came to meet them, to their great rejoicing, whom they went on board, and ſoon came up with the whole fleet, with whom they joined, bending their courſe directly towards *Port-Royal*, where they were ordered. Coming to *Port-Royal Gut*, where their ſhips were, and calling a council according to his inſtructions, drew up their reſult: Which is as followeth.

Preſent all the Field Officers and Captains of the land forces.

Aboard the Province Galley, 4th July, 1704, *in* Port-Royal *harbour.*

WE whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, having deliberately conſidered the cauſe in hand, whether it be proper to land all our forces, to offend and deſtroy as much

much as we can at Port-Royal, *all or any part of the inhabitants thereof, and their eſtates, We are of opinion, that it is not for our intereſt and honor, and the country's whom we ſerve, to land or expoſe ourſelves; but quit it wholly, and go on about our other buſineſs we have to do, for this reaſon, That we judge ourſelves inferior to the ſtrength of the enemy; and therefore the danger and riſk we run, is greater than the advantage we can, or are likely to obtain, ſeeing the enemy hath ſuch timely notice, and long opportunity to provide themſelves againſt us, by our ſhips lying here in the road about twelve days, before we could join them from* Menis, *where we were during that time, and being ſo very meanly provided with neceſſaries convenient for ſuch an undertaking with ſo ſmall a number of men, not being above four hundred capable and fit for ſervice to land; and underſtanding by all the intelligence we can get from both* Engliſh *and* French *priſoners, that the fort is exceeding ſtrong.*

John Gorham, Lieut. Col. *Winthrop Hilton*, Major.

Joſ. Brown,	*Conſtant Church*,
James Cole,	*John Dyer*,
John Cook,	*Joſhua Lamb*,
Iſaac Myrick,	*Caleb Williamſon*,
John Harradon,	*Edward Church.*

Having, purſuant to my inſtructions, taken the advice of the Gentlemen above ſubſcribed, and conſidering the weight of their reaſons, I do concur therewith. Benj. Church.

WHEREAS Colonel Church *hath deſired our opinions, as to the landing the forces at* Port-Royal, *they being but 400 effective men to land, and by all the information both of* French *and* Engliſh *priſoners, the enemy having a greater number of men, and much better provided to recive, than they are to attack them, We do believe it is for the ſervice of the crown, and the preſervation of her Majeſty's ſubjects to act as above mentioned. Thomas Smith, George Rogers, Cyprian Southack.*

After this, they concluded what ſhould be next done; which was, that the ſhips ſhould ſtay ſome days longer at *Port-Royal Gut*, and then go over to *Mount-Deſart* harbour, and there ſtay till Colonel *Church* with his tranſports came to them. Being all ready, the Colonel with his tranſports and forces went up the bay to *Signecto*, where they needed not a pilot, being ſeveral of them well acquainted there; (and had not met with ſo many difficulties at *Menis*, had it not been that their pilot deceived them; who knew nothing of the matter, kept out of the way and landed not with them, *&c.* And coming to *Signecto*, the enemy were all in arms ready to receive them. Col. *Church* landing his men; the Commander of the enemy waving his ſword over his head, bid a challenge to them. The Colonel ordering his two wings to march up a pace, and come upon the backs of the enemy, himſelf being in the centre, and the enemy knowing him, (having been there before) ſhot chiefly at him; but through God's goodneſs received no harm, neither had he one man killed, nor but two ſlightly wounded, and then all ran into the woods, and left their town with nothing in it; having had timely notice of our forces, had carried all away out of the reach of our army; for Colonel *Church* while there with part of his forces ranged the woods, but to no purpoſe: Then returning to the town, did them what ſpoil he could, according to his inſtructions, and ſo drew off, and made the beſt of their way for *Paſſamequado*, and going in, in a great fog, one of their tranſports ran upon a rock, but was ſoon got off again. Then Col. *Church* with ſome of his forces embarked in their whale-boats, and went amongſt the iſlands, with an intent to go to *Sharkee*'s, where they had deſtroyed the fiſh; but obſerving a ſpringy place in a cove, went on ſhore to get ſome water to drink; it being a ſandy beach, they eſpied tracks, the Colonel preſently ordered his men to ſcatter, and make ſearch; ſoon found *De Boiſſes* Wife, who had formerly

formerly been Colonel *Church*'s priſoner, and carried to *Boſton*; but returned, who ſeemed very glad to ſee him: She had with her two ſons that were near men grown: The Colonel ordering them apart, examined the woman firſt, who gave him this account following, That ſhe had lived thereabouts ever ſince the fleet went by, and that ſhe had never ſeen but two Indians ſince, who came in a canoe from *Norrigwock*; who aſked her, what made her to be there alone? She told them, She had not ſeen a *Frenchman* nor an Indian, except thoſe two ſince the *Engliſh* ſhips went by. Then the Indians told her there was not one Indian left except thoſe two, who belong to the *Gut of Canſo*, on this ſide of *Canada*; for thoſe friars coming down with the Indians to M. *Gordans*, and finding the *Frenchmen* ſlain, and their hair ſpoiled, being ſcalped, put them into a great conſternation; and the friars told them it was impoſſible for them to live thereabouts, for the *Engliſh* with their whale-boats would ſerve them all ſo; upon which they all went to *Norrigiwock*: Alſo told her that when the *Engliſh* came along through *Penobſcot*, they had ſwept it of the inhabitants, as if it had been ſwept with a broom, neither *French* nor Indians eſcaping them: Further told her, That when their fathers, the friars, and the Indians met together at *Norrigwock* they called a council, and the friars told the Indians, That they muſt look out for ſome other country, for that it was impoſſible for them to live there; alſo told them there was a river called *Moſſippee*, where they might live quietly, and no *Engliſh* come near them: It being as far beyond *Canada*, as it was to it, *&c.* and if they would go and live there, they would live and die with them, but if not they would leave them, and never come near them again. Whereupon they all agreed to go away; which they did, and left their rough houſhold ſtuff, and corn behind them, and went all, except thoſe two for *Canada*.

nada. Alſo her ſons giving the ſame intelligence, ſo we had no reaſon to think but that it was true.

Colonel *Church* having done what he could there, embarked on board the tranſports, and went to *Mount-Deſart*, found no ſhips there, but a rundlet rid off by a line in the harbour, which he ordered to be taken up, and opening of it found a letter, which gave him an account that the ſhips were gone home for *Boſton*. Then he proceeded and went to *Penobſcot*; where being come, made diligent ſearch in thoſe parts for the enemy, but could not find or make any diſcovery of them, or that any had been there ſince he left thoſe parts, which cauſed him to believe what *De Boiſſes* wife had told him was true.

I will only by the way juſt give a hint of what we heard ſince of the effects of this expedition, and then proceed; Firſt, That the *Engliſh* forces that went next to *Norrigwock*, found that the enemy was gone, and had left their rough houſhold ſtuff and corn behind them; alſo not long after this expedition, there were ſeveral gentlemen ſent down from *Canada*, to concert with our Governor about the ſettling of a cartile for the exchange of priſoners; and that the Governor of *Canada* has never ſince ſent down an army upon our frontiers (that I know of) except ſometimes a ſcout of Indians to take ſome priſoners, that he might be informed of our ſtate, and what we were acting, *&c.* and always took care that the priſoners ſo taken ſhould be civilly treated, and ſafely returned, as I have been informed; that ſome of the priſoners that were taken gave an account; ſo that we have great cauſe to believe that the meſſage Colonel *Church* ſent by the two *French* gentlemen from *Menis*, to the Governor of *Port-Royal*, took effect, and was a means to bring peace in our borders, *&c.* Then Col. *Church* with his forces embarked on board the tranſports, and went to *Caſco-Bay*, where they met with Capt. *Gallop*, in a veſſel from *Boſton*, who had brought Col. *Church* further orders; which was to

ſend

ſend ſome of his forces up to *Norrigwock*, in purſuit of the enemy; but he being ſenſible that the enemy were gone from thence, and that his ſoldiers were much wore out, and fatigued in the hard ſervice they had already done, and wanted to get home, called a council, and agreed all to go home, which accordingly they did.

To conclude this expedition, I will juſt give a hint of ſome treatment Colonel *Church* had before and after he came home. For all his great expences, fatigues and hardſhips, in and about this expedition, *(viz.)* He received of his Excellency *Fifteen Pounds*, as an earneſt penny towards raiſing volunteers; and after he came to receive his debenture for his Colonel's pay, there was *Two Shillings* and *Four Pence* due to him; and as for his Captain's pay, and man *Jack*, he has never received any thing as yet. Alſo after he came home, ſome ill minded perſons did their endeavour to have taken away his life, for that there were ſome of the *French* enemy killed this expedition; but his Excellency the Governor, the honorable Council, and Houſe of Repreſentatives ſaw cauſe to clear him, and gave him thanks for his good ſervice done.

F I N I S.

THE LIFE OF Colonel *CHURCH.*

COLONEL *BENJAMIN CHURCH* was born in 1639, at *Duxbury*, near *Plymouth*, of reputable parents, who lived and died there. His father's name was JOSEPH, who, with two of his brethren, came early into *New-England*, as refugees from the religious oppreſſion of the parent ſtate. Mr. *Joſeph Church*, among other children, had three ſons, *Joſeph*, *Caleb*, and *Benjamin*. *Caleb* ſettled at *Watertown*; the other two at *Seconet*, or *Little-Compton*. *Benjamin*, the Hero of this hiſtory, was of a good ſtature, his body well proportioned, and built for hardineſs and activity. Although he was very corpulent and heavy in the latter part of his life; yet when he was a young man, he was not ſo, being then active, ſprightly and vigorous. He carried dignity in his countenance—thought and acted with a rational and manly judgment—which, joined with a naturally generous, obliging and hoſpitable diſpoſition, procured him both authority and eſteem. He married Mrs.

Mrs. *Alice Southworth*, by whom he had a daughter, Mrs. *Rathbotham*, and five ſons, *viz.*

Thomas Church, the author, or publiſher of this hiſtory, and father of the Honourable *Thomas Church*, Eſq; now living in *Little-Compton*.

Conſtant Church, a Captain under his father in the eaſtern expedition, and in the militia; and of a military and enterprizing ſpirit.

Benjamin Church, who died a batchelor.

Edward Church, whoſe only ſon, now living, is deacon *Benjamin Church* of *Boſton*, who furniſhes theſe memoirs of the family.

Charles Church, who had a numerous iſſue.

Colonel *Church* was a man of integrity, juſtice, and uprightneſs, of piety and ſerious religion: He was a member of the church of *Briſtol* at its foundation, in the Rev. Mr. *Lee*'s day. He was conſtant and devout in family worſhip, wherein he read and often expounded the ſcriptures to his houſhold. He was exemplary in obſerving the ſabbath, and in attending the worſhip and ordinances of God in the ſanctuary. He lived regularly, and left an example worthy of the imitation of his poſterity. He was a friend to the civil and religious liberties of his country, and greatly rejoiced in the revolution. He was Colonel of the militia in the county of *Briſtol*. The ſeveral offices of civil and military truſt, with which he was inveſted from time to time, through a long life, he diſcharged with fidelity and uſefulneſs.

The war of 1675 was the moſt important *Indian* war that *New-England* ever ſaw. *Philip* or *Metacomet* (a ſon of good old MASSASOIT, & his 2d ſucceſſor) had wro't up the Indians of all the tribes through *New-England*, into a dangerous combination to extirpate the *Engliſh*. It was one of the laſt works of the *Commiſſioners of the United Colonies* (a council which ſubſiſted, the great ſecurity of *New-England*, from 1643 to 1678) to break up this confederacy.

federacy. An army of 1000 *English* was on foot at once, under the command of Governor *Winslow*. Whoever desires further information concerning this war, may consult Mr. *Hubbard*'s history of it. The part Col. *Church* acted in it is exhibited in this plain narrative, given by his son two years before his father's death.

Colonel *Church* perfectly understood the manner of the Indians in fighting, and was thoroughly acquainted with their haunts, swamps, and places of refuge on the territory between *Narraganset* and *Cape-Cod*. There he was particularly successful: On that field he gathered his laurels. The surprisal and seizure of ANNAWON was an act of true boldness and heroism. Had the eastern Indians been surrounded with *English* settlements, there is reason to think that he would have been more successful among them. But on a long & extended frontier, open to immense deserts, little more has ever been done by troops of undoubted courage, than to arouse and drive off the Indians into a wide, howling wilderness; where it was as much in vain to seek them, as for *Cæsar* to seek the *Gauls* in the *Hircinian* forests.

The present edition of this history is given without any alterations in the body of it; it being thought best that it should go down to posterity, (like the *Periplus* of *Hanno*) with its own internal marks of originality. However, in the margin the editor hath given the *English* names of the places described by Indian names in the narrative; and also some few notes and illustrations.

After *Philip*'s war Colonel *Church* settled and lived first at *Bristol*, then at *Fall-River*, and at *Seconet*,—in each of which places he acquired and left a large estate. Having served his generation faithfully, by the will of God, he fell asleep, and was gathered to his fathers. He died and was buried at *Little-Compton*. The morning before his death he went about two miles on horseback, to visit his only sister Mrs. *Irish*, to sympathize with her on the

the death of her only child. After a friendly and pious viſit, in a moving and affecting manner he took his leave of her, and ſaid, "It was a laſt farewell; telling her he was perſuaded he ſhould never ſee her more; but hoped to meet her in heaven." Returning homeward, he had not rode above half a mile before his horſe ſtumbled, and threw him over his head: And the Colonel being exceeding fat and heavy, fell with ſuch force that a blood veſſel was broken, and the blood guſhed out of his mouth like a torrent. His wife was ſoon brought to him; he tried but was unable to ſpeak to her, and died in about twelve hours. He was carried to the grave with great funeral pomp, and was buried under arms, and with military honours. On his tomb-ſtone is this inſcription:

Here lieth interred the Body

Of the Honourable

Col. BENJAMIN CHURCH,

Who departed this Life

January the 17th, 1717-18,

In the 78th Year of his Age.

Newport, April 8, 1772.